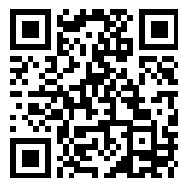

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XLI, 1.

WHOLE No. 161

I.—THE LITERARY TRADITION OF GYGES AND CANDAULES.¹

Some years ago I contributed to this Journal (XXIII 261-282; 362-387)² an article in which I undertook to reconstruct the plot of a popular tale of Gyges and the King of Lydia which appears to have been still current in the period of Herodotus and Plato. In the process of my investigation, which I carried as far as the fall of the Eastern Empire, it became more and more evident that the most notable feature of the later tradition of Gyges and Candaules was the increasing preponderance in it of the two versions by Herodotus and Plato respectively. The matter had no bearing upon the subject which I was then discussing, and I therefore mentioned it only in passing. But the fact itself is so characteristic of ancient literary tradition as such, and in some ways is so striking a commentary upon it, that it seems worthy of special consideration.

Let us begin with the later tradition of Plato's story of Gyges and his Ring (Republic 359 D). It will be remembered that in this passage the spokesman, discussing the well-known doctrine that the only thing which prevents even the best of us from doing wrong in the end is the fear of detection, asserts that his point would be proved if both a good and a bad man could be given some power which would render detection impossible. "I

¹ This article was transmitted to the JOURNAL a few hours before the author's death, and so did not have the benefit of his final revision.—ED.

² My investigation did not concern itself with the ultimate origin, meaning or credibility of the various accounts. For these points the best and most recent authority is Lehmann-Haupt, PRE s. v. Gyges.

mean," he says, "such a power . . . as they say was once possessed by the ancestor of the Lydian." Then by way of at once enforcing his point and explaining his reference, he tells the story in question. When he returns to the story at 612 B Plato couples the ring of Gyges with another more ancient and more famous method of going invisible, the Homeric *Ἄϊδος κυνέη* or Hades' "Cap of Darkness."

A brief and interesting story told by a master and in his best style, a story with a moral, above all a story with a literary reference (*Γύγου δακτύλιος*) which could be used to great advantage by writers and speakers—so far as rhetoricians were concerned, here, as the old translator of Bayle says of books of extracts, was "meat already chewed." Nevertheless, we hear nothing of the story until Cicero (Off. III 9, 38) translates it in connection with his discussion of the same question of conduct. And strange to say I have been unable to find a single reference in any other Roman author.³

Even on the Greek side I find no mention of this story until Ptolemaeus Chennus (Myth. Graeci, p. 192 W) at the end of the first century of our era. Chennus was a sort of purveyor in ordinary to the literary chit-chat so characteristic of that period. As such he can tell us, for example, why the Queen was able to see Gyges in spite of his ring. She had a double pupil, also a dragon-stone. This shows of course that the literary world was on the whole quite well aware of the relation between the story of Plato and the story of Herodotus. Such a book as the *Suasoriae* and *Controversiae* of the Elder Seneca, not to mention a number of others, is enough in itself to show that in practically every instance the source and associations of these semi-popular literary discussions were scholastic. It is fair, therefore, to assume that our passage in Plato had already been familiar to the Rhetorical Schools for a long time. However that may be, we know that it had entered them at least as early as the First Sophistic Renaissance. This we learn from the *Progymnasmata* of Theon, one of the most notable figures in the educational life of that period.

In the second chapter of this text-book (Rhet. Graeci, I 159

³ In N. H. XXXIII 8, *Midæ quidem anulum, quo circumactō habentem nemo cerneret, quis non etiam fabulosiorem fateatur?* Pliny was hardly thinking of Plato's story; see A. J. P. XXIII 273.

Walz) for the use of students and teachers, Theon recommends and in some cases discusses those passages from the great classical authors which every schoolboy was expected to learn by heart. These passages were selected and graded according to the age and training of the student, and for the most part fall into three classes: 1. anecdotes (χρεῖαι), 2. fables (μῦθοι), 3. stories (διηγήσεις)—these last being again subdivided into mythical stories and stories of actual fact. Under the first subdivision (διηγήσεις μυθικαί) four examples are recommended:

Διηγήσεως δὲ παραδείγματα ἂν εἴη κάλλιστα, τῶν μὲν μυθικῶν ἡ Πλάτωνος ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῆς πολιτείας περὶ τοῦ δακτυλίου τοῦ Γύγου· καὶ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ, περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ ἔρωτος· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν Ἄιδου, ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ, καὶ τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς πολιτείας· καὶ παρὰ Θεοπόμπῃ ἐν τῇ ὁγδόῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ἡ τοῦ σελίνου.

It will be observed that the very first of these passages is Plato's story. Is it at all surprising to discover that the Ring of Gyges suddenly becomes prominent in the writers of this particular period? We shall also find a practically unbroken tradition of its use as a literary reference until the fall of the Eastern Empire.

In his *Bis Accusatus* 21, Lucian makes Epicurus say, in his plea for pleasure as against the claims of the Stoa, that these apostles of toil and efficiency.

"Cannot bear to be detected in any relaxation, or any departure from their principles: but, poor men, they lead a Tantalus' life of it in consequence, and when they do get a chance of sinning without being found out, they drink down pleasure by the bucketful. Depend on it, if some one would make them a present of Gyges's ring of invisibility, or Hades's cap, they would cut the acquaintance of toil without further ceremony, and elbow their way into the presence of Pleasure."

Again in the *Navigium* 42, Timolaus is made to say

"My wish is that Hermes should appear and present me with certain rings, possessed of certain powers. One should ensure its wearer continual health and strength, invulnerability, insensibility to pain. Another, like that of Gyges, should make me invisible."

Epist. Graec. p. 619, 43 Didot (*Æschines* to *Xenophon*) we have:

κἄν πολλάκις περικρύπτηται περιθήμενος τὴν Ἄιδου κυνὴν ἢ τὸν Γύγου δακτύλιον καὶ δίκας γράφηται τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει· ζῇ γὰρ ἀπὸ βυρσοδαφικῆς.

Libanius, Orat. LVI (Contra Lucianum), 10 says:

ἀλλ' ὅς ἡδαιμεν χάριν μᾶλλον ὅφιν ἡδίστην θεώμενοι, Δουκιανὸν ἀσθενῆ καὶ ζητοῦντα τὴν ἀρχήν, οὐκ ἔχοντα, ἃ χρὴν οὐκ αὐτὸν ἐνθυμούμενον, κλέψαι τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν εἴσοδον, ἐπεὶ μὴ πρίσθαι γε ἐξῆν ποθεῖν τὸν Γύγου δακτύλιον ἢ μισθωσάμενον γοητεῖαν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐκείνης μαγγανεύμασι δραμεῖν.

Again, Orat. LXIV (Pro Saltat.) 35, he says:

ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχους, εἰ μὴ, νῆ Δία γε, τὴν Ἄιδος κυνὴν, ἣ τὸν Γύγου δακτύλιον ἔχοντες ἀδικοῦσιν, ὑφ' ὧν λανθάνουσιν.

And finally in his Epistles 1031, we have (as quoted by L.-S. Paroem. Graec. II, p. 20):

οὐ δ' αἶον μετὰ τοῦ δακτυλίου τοῦ Γύγου πάντα δρῶν λανθάνειν.

The use of the phrase by Gregory of Nazianzus is glib but evidently quite mechanical; cp. Orat. Contra Julianum (35, p. 628 Migne):

ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἑαυτὸν ἀποκρίψει, οὐδ' ἂν πολλὰ στραφῇ καὶ παντοῖος γένηται ταῖς ἐπινοαῖς, οὐδ' εἰ τὴν Ἄιδος κυνὴν, ὃ δὴ λέγεται, περιβήμενος ἢ τῷ δακτυλίῳ Γύγου, καὶ τῇ στροφῇ τῆς σφενδόνης χρησάμενος, ἑαυτὸν ἀποκλέψει, etc.: Orat. 43, 21 (L. and S., Paroem. Graeci, I, p. 21), ἣ πλέον ἐφροντοῦμεν ἢ τῇ στροφῇ τῆς σφενδόνης ὁ Γύγης, εἴπερ μὴ μῦθος ἦν, ἐξ ἧς Ἀνδῶν ἐτυράνησεν: Carmina, Lib. I, 2, 30 (37, p. 685 Migne),

κέρδος τοσούτον κἂν τρέχαν ὄρους δοκῆς,
κἂν σοι τὰ Γύγου τοῦ πολυχρύσου παρῇ
στρέφῃς τε πάντα τῇ στροφῇ τῆς σφενδόνης
σιγῶν δυνάστης, etc.

The emphasis which Gregory lays on *σφενδόνη* indicates in itself that this old word used by Plato for the bezel of a ring had long been obsolete or obsolescent.

Doubtless the hereditary reference to Gyges' Ring occurs here and there in the huge Corpus of Greek Fathers edited by Migne—one would expect it for instance to be used by such a firebrand of rhetoric as Joannes Chrysostomus—but I have made no effort to examine this field systematically.

That the phrase continued to live, however, and to be used more or less frequently, is shown among other things by the frequency of its occurrence in the Paroemiographi Graeci, cp. Apostolius 5, 71 (P. G. 2, 353); Macarius, 3, 9 (P. G. 2, 154); Diogenianus, 3, 99 (P. G. 1, 232 and 2, 20); Greg. Cyp. 2, 5 (P. G. 1, 358).

So much for the later literary reference to Gyges' Ring. Among the authors whose interest in the story evidently went beyond the mere phrase which we have been discussing, the most notable is Philostratus. In the *Heroicus*, 2, 137, 29 sqq., he gives a brief rhetorical version of the old story, as follows:

Καὶ μὴν, εἰ μυθολογικὸς ἦν, τὸν τε τοῦ Ὀρέστου νεκρὸν διῆεν ἄν, ὃν ἐπτάπηχυν ἐν Νεμέᾳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εὔρον, καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ χαλκῷ ἵππῳ τῷ Λυδῷ ὃς κατωρώρυκτο μὲν ἐν Λυδίᾳ πρὸ Γύγου ἔτι, σεισμῷ δὲ τῆς γῆς διασχοῦστος θαῦμα τοῖς περὶ Λυδίαν ὤφθη ποιμένισιν, οἷς ἅμα ὁ Γύγης ἐβήτευσεν. ἐς γὰρ κοῖλον τὸν ἵππον θυρίδας ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ πλευρᾷ ἔχοντα νεκρὸς ἀπείκειτο μέλizon ἢ ἀνθρώπου δόξαι.

In his life of Apollonius of Tyana, III 8, describing how the wonderful Indian dragons are hunted, he says:

κοκκοβαφεὶ πέπλῳ χρυσᾷ ἐνέραντες γράμματα τίθενται πρὸ τῆς χεῖρας ὕπνον ἐγγοιτεύσαντες τοῖς γράμμασιν, ὅφ' οὐ νικᾶται τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὁ δράκων ἀτρέπτους ὄντας, καὶ πολλὰ τῆς ἀπορρήτου σοφίας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ᾄδουσιν, οἷς ἀγεται τε καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ὑπερβαλὼν τῆς χεῖρας ἐπικαθεύδει τοῖς γράμμασι· προσπεσόντες οὖν οἱ Ἴνδοι κειμένῳ πελέκει ἐναράττονσι, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες λήζονται τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ λίθους. ἀποκείσθαι δὲ φασιν ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὀρέων δρακόντων κεφαλαῖς λίθους τὸ μὲν εἶδος ἀνθρώπου καὶ πάντα ἀπανταχούσους χρώματα, τὴν δὲ ἰσχὺν ἀρρήτους κατὰ τὸν δακτύλιον, ὃν γενέσθαι φασὶ τῷ Γύγῃ.⁴

Of the passages remaining to be considered some are merely notes designed to explain the reference to Gyges' Ring, others are rhetorical abstracts, all are directly due to the scholastic tradition.

The story, for instance, is told by Nonnus in his note on Gregory of Nazianzus, *Invect.* 1, 55 (text in Westermann's *Mythographi*, p. 366, XVI) as follows:

Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν πολιτείαις (ἔστι δὲ οὕτως αὐτοῦ λεγομένη πραγματεία) εἰσφέρει τὸν μῦθον τοῦτον, οὕτω λέγων, ὅτι Γύγης ἦν τις ποιμὴν περὶ τὴν Λυδίαν· οὗτος ποιμαίνων ἐν τινι ὄρει τὰ πρόβατα περιέτυχε ἀσπληαῖψιν τινί, καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐν αὐτῷ εὔρεν ἵππον χαλκοῦν καὶ ἔδον τοῦ χαλκοῦ ἵππου ἄνθρωπον νεκρὸν καὶ δακτύλιον· οὗ δακτυλίου ἡ κεφαλὴ στρεπτὴ ἦν καὶ ἐστρέφετο. ἔλαβεν οὖν ὁ Γύγης τὸν δακτύλιον καὶ ἐξήλλα· καὶ ἡνίκα μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ τάξει ὁ δακτύλιος, ἐωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, ἡνίκα δὲ τὴν σφενδόνην τοῦ δακτυλίου ἔστρεφεν, ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο πᾶσιν. ὁ οὖν Πλάτων εἰσφέρει τὸν μῦθον τοῦτον, ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἀνὴρ, κἂν τοῦ Γύγου λάβῃ δακτύλιον, ἵνα μὴ ὁρᾶται ὑπὸ τινος, οὐδ' οὕτως

⁴ In my article on Gyges, A. J. P. XXIII 370, I somehow managed to translate κατὰ τὸν δακτύλιον, "even against the ring," as though it were a genitive instead of an accusative, "according to the ring."

ᾧφειλεν ἀδικεῖν · δεῖ γὰρ τὸ καλὸν δι' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ μὴ δι' ἄλλους τινάς.

Nonnus practically repeats the same note in his commentary on Gregory, Orat. in Basil. 5.

Poor old Ioannes Tzetzes, at the dawn of the Renaissance—a man who would have been a distinguished scholar if he had had half a chance—was especially interested in our two passages and saw more or less clearly the original relation between them. His Chiliades is now so rare a book that I quote here in full the passages in point:

Chiliades I 137-166:

Γύγης τὸ πρότερον ποιμὴν κατὰ τινὰς ὑπάρχων,
 Ποιμαίνων εὐρέ που χαλκοῦν ἵππον ἐγκεχωσμένον,
 Εἰς ὃν περ ἵππον ἔνδοθι νεκρός τις κεκλιμένος
 Στρεπτόν περὶ τὸν δακτύλον δακτύλιον ἐφόρει.
 Τοῦτον γοῦν τὸν δακτύλιον οὗτος λαβὼν ὁ Γύγης
 Καὶ γνοὺς ὡς ἔχει δύναμιν, σφενδόνης στρεφομένης,
 Συγκρούπτειν τὸν κατέχοντα καὶ πάλιν ἐμφανίζειν,
 Κτείνας Κανδαύλην ἔλαβε Λυδῶν τὴν βασιλείαν.
 Ἡρόδοτος τὸν Γύγην δὲ ποιμένα μὲν οὐ λέγει,
 Υἱὸν Δασκύλου δὲ φησιν, ὑπασπιστὴν Κανδαύλου ·
 Ὅστις Κανδαύλης γυναικὸς ἔρον οἰκείας τρέφων
 Γυμνὴν αὐτὴν ὑπέδειξε τῇ Γύγῃ λεληθότως.
 Ἡ δὲ καὶ γνοῦσα σιωπῇ, εἶτα καλεῖ τὸν Γύγην,
 Αἰρεσιν λέγουσα λαβὲ Γύγῃ τῶν δύο μίαν,
 Ἡ σὺ Κανδαύλην ἀνελὴν ἢ φονευθῆναι τούτῳ.
 Γυμνὴ δυσὶν ἀνδράσι γὰρ οὐ στέγω θεαθῆναι.
 Οὕτω Κανδαύλην ἀνελὼν εἶλε τὴν βασιλείαν.
 Ἐκ τῆς Κανδαύλου γυναικὸς Ἄρδους υἱὸς τῇ Γύγῃ,
 Ἄρδους Σαδνάττης δέ, καὶ τούτου Ἀλυάττης,
 Ἐξ Ἀλυάττου Κροῖσος δέ, ὅστις ἡττᾶται Κύρῳ.
 Ἄλλ' ἤδη σε σφαδάζοντα καὶ κεχηνότα βλέπω,
 Τὴν Γύγου χρεῖζοντα μαθεῖν πᾶσαν ἀλληγορίαν.
 Ποιμὴν ὁ Γύγης λέγεται τῷ στρατηγὸς τυγχάνειν ·
 Ἴππος χαλκοῦς ἀγέρωχός ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία,
 Ναὶ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἀνάκτορα · νεκρός, γυνὴ Κανδαύλου,
 Τῶν ἀνακτόρων ἀπρακτός ἔνδοθεν καθημένη.
 Ὅς τὸν δακτύλιον λαβὼν ὑπασπισταῖς δευκνεί,
 Καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπέκτεινε λαθραῖως τὸν Κανδαύλην.
 Στρέψας δὲ τὸν δακτύλιον πάλιν πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα
 Γίνεται πᾶσιν ἐμφανής, λαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν.

Id. VI 481-484:

Νυσσία οὖσα σύζυγος Μυρτίλου τοῦ Κανδαύλου ·
 Τὸ δὲ Κανδαύλης Λυδικῶς τὸν σκυλοπνίκτην λέγει ·

Ἐπεὶ Κανδαύλης ἰδεῖξε γυμνὴν αὐτὴν τῷ Γύγῃ,
Κτανεῖν τὸν Γύγην ἔπεισεν αὐτῆς τὸν συνευνέτην.

Id. VII 195-202:

Γυμνὴν Κανδαύλης ἰδεῖξε τῷ Γύγῃ σφὴν γυναῖκα ·
Ἦτις καὶ συγκαλέσασα τὸν Γύγην κατιδίαν
Δίδωσι τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτῆς, ὥς ἀποκτείνει
Κανδαίλην ταύτης σύζυγον, δείξας κρυφῇ συμμάχους.
Οὗ γεγονότος κτείνας τε λαθραίως τὸν Κανδαύλην
Καὶ στρέφας τὸν δακτύλιον πάλιν εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα,
Γίνεται πᾶσιν ἐμφανὲς λαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν.
Ἔχεις ἐν πρώτῳ πίνακι τρίτην τὴν ἱστορίαν.

Last of all, we have the following account in the so-called Violarium of Eudocia (now considered the work of some scholar of the Renaissance), 247:

Γύγην οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐμυθεύοντο τῇ στροφῇ τῆς σφενδόνης, ἣν ἐφόρει, ἀφανίζεσθαι καὶ μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι παρόντα καὶ εἰς ὅλην ἔρχεσθαι · ὃν καὶ Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν Πολιτείᾳ εἰσφέρει μυθικῶς οὕτω λέγων, ὅτι Γύγης τις ἦν ποιμὴν περὶ τὴν Λυδίαν. οὗτος ποιμαίνων ἐν τινι ὄρει τὰ πρόβατα περιέτυχε σπηλαίῳ τινί. καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐν αὐτῷ εὗρεν ἵππον χαλκοῦν, καὶ ἔνδον τοῦ χαλκοῦ ἵππου νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπον φοροῦντα δακτύλιον, οὗ δακτυλίου ἡ κεφαλὴ στρεπτὴ ἦν καὶ ἐστρέφετο · ἥτις σφενδόνη ἐκαλεῖτο. ἔλαβεν οὖν ὁ Γύγης τὸν δακτύλιον, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν. καὶ ἥνικα μὲν ἦν ἐν τῇ τάξει ὁ δακτύλιος, ἐωρᾶτο ὑπὸ πάντων, ἥνικα δὲ τὴν σφενδόνην τοῦ δακτυλίου ἐστρεφεν, ἀφανὲς ἐγένετο ἐν πᾶσιν. ὁ οὖν Πλάτων εἰσφέρει τὸν μῦθον τοῦτον, ὅτι, φησὶν, ὁ δίκαιος ἀνὴρ, κὰν τοῦ Γύγου λάβῃ τὸν δακτύλιον, ἵνα μὴ ὁρᾶται ὑπὸ τινος, οὐδὲ οὕτως ὀφείλει ἀδίκειν. δὲ γὰρ τὸ καλὸν δι' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτηδένεσθαι, καὶ μὴ δι' ἄλλο τι. ἔχων οὖν ὁ Γύγης τοῦτον τὸν δακτύλιον, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεια τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἀντιστρέφας τὴν σφενδόνην ἐγένετο ἀφανὲς. καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἔλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν. διὸ καὶ Γύγου δακτύλιος ἐπὶ τῶν πολυμηχάνων καὶ πανούργων λέγεται. ὁ δὲ Ἡρόδοτος ἄλλως ἱστορεῖ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Γύγην, ὅτι ἐπιτροπῇ τῆς δεσποίνης ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Κανδαύλην ὁ Γύγης καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν.

It will be seen that this note was written entirely for practical purposes. The author explains the Platonic application and points out the origin and meaning of the familiar proverb. He is not affected by the allegorizing of Tzetzes, but on the other hand he also seems to have been sufficiently modern to have quite lost track of the good old tradition, as we saw it for instance in Chennus and Philostratus, according to which Plato and Herodotus really go back ultimately to a common source.

As we look back over this sometimes thin but always persistent literary tradition of more than a millennium, the most notable

feature of it is the fact that with the possible exception of Cicero's translation, I have been unable to find a single reference which does not go back either directly or indirectly to the school-house. There is something portentous in the length, the strength and the persistence of such a pedagogical tradition. Fancy our "eminent educators" allowing anything, no matter what it was, to remain in the schools for more than thirty generations! It would be hasty, however, to assume that this extraordinary conservatism was entirely due to the fact that no one had the brains or the energy to think of anything new or better. It was a long, long time before the Imperial system of education ceased to be distinctly superior in its own particular way to that of any other nation or period.

Finally, it may be worth observing that apart from the translation of Cicero already mentioned, I find no reference to Gyges' Ring, no sign of familiarity with the story of it, in the entire range of Latin literature. One would have guessed that the paramount authority of a writer like Cicero would have given his version the entrée of the Roman schools. But this does not seem to have been the case.

Let us now investigate and test in the same manner the later tradition of the story told by Herodotus. This, too, begins with Rhetoric. The first, and one of the most important references now surviving, belongs to the Age of Augustus. It is found in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Compositione Verborum*, § 16.

The author's main object and the point which he especially desires to make is (§ 9) that "it is upon arrangement, far more than upon selection, that persuasion, charm, and literary power depend." * "Every utterance," he continues (§§ 11 sqq.), "by which we express our thoughts is either in metre or not in metre. Whichever it be, it can, when aided by beautiful arrangement, attain beauty whether of verse or prose. But speech, if flung out carelessly at random, at the same time spoils the value of the thought. Many poets and prose writers (philosophers and orators) have carefully chosen expressions that are distinctly beautiful and appropriate to the subject matter, but have reaped no benefit from their trouble because they have given them a rude and haphazard sort of arrangement: whereas others have invested their discourse with great beauty by taking humble, unpretending words, and arranging them with charm and dis-

* The translation in this and the following sections is that of Roberts.

tion. It may well be thought that composition is to selection what words are to ideas. For just as a fine thought is of no avail unless it be clothed in beautiful language, so here, too, pure and elegant expression is useless unless it be attired in the right vesture of arrangement.

"But to guard myself against the appearance of making an unsupported assertion, I will try to show by an appeal to facts the reasons which have convinced me that composition is a more important and effective art than mere selection of words. I will first examine a few specimen passages in verse and prose. Among poets let Homer be taken, among prose-writers Herodotus: from these may be formed an adequate notion of the rest. . . .

"There is in Herodotus a certain Lydian king whom he calls Candaules, adding that he was called Myrsilus by the Greeks. Candaules is represented as infatuated with admiration of his wife, and then as insisting on one of his friends seeing the poor woman naked. The friend struggled hard against the constraint put upon him; but failing to shake the king's resolve, he submitted, and viewed her. The incident, as an incident, is not only lacking in dignity and, for the purpose of embellishment, intractable, but is also vulgar and hazardous and more akin to the repulsive than to the beautiful. But it has been related with great dexterity: it has been made something far better to hear told than it was to see done. And, that no one may imagine that it is to the dialect that the charm of the story is due, I will change its distinctive forms into Attic, and without any further meddling with the language will give the conversation as it stands."

Dionysius then rewrites Herodotus I 8-10 (Γύγη, οὐ γάρ σε . . . δὲ μὲν δὴ ὡς οὐκ εἶδύνατο διαφυγεῖν, ἔτοιμος ἦν) in Attic and continues:

"Here again no one can say that the grace of the style is due to the impressiveness and the dignity of the words. These have not been picked and chosen with studious care; they are simply the labels affixed to things by Nature. Indeed, it would perhaps have been out of place to use other and grander words. I take it, in fact, to be always necessary, whenever ideas are expressed in proper and appropriate language, that no word should be more dignified than the nature of the ideas. That there is no stately or grandiose word in the present passage, any one who likes may prove by simply changing the arrangement. There are many similar passages in this author, from which it can be seen that the fascination of his style does not after all lie in the beauty of the words but in their combination."*

*"The truth seems to be," says Roberts in an interesting passage

For the purposes of our present inquiry this discussion of Dionysius is very instructive. We may almost begin with the assumption that this passage of Herodotus had already been associated with scholastic rhetoric for an indefinite period. Otherwise a man of the type and time of Dionysius would hardly have used it as an illustration in a technical treatise on rhetoric. By the time of Augustus, the examples and illustrations used by the rhetoricians were for the most part veterans in the service. That this was actually the case with this particular passage is suggested for one thing by the fact that it is such an extraordinarily good example of the *λέξις εἰσομένη*. And the well-known passage in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (3, 9) in which the author discusses and characterizes the two great types of composition, indicates that even then Herodotus had become the classic of that type. If now we add that as Volkmann observes (*Rhetorik*², p. 28), Dionysius as a technical rhetorician harks back to Isocrates, it is at least quite possible that the Herodotean tale of Gyges entered the scholastic tradition of rhetoric at some time between Isocrates and Dionysius.

At any rate—and, after all, that is enough for our present purpose—it actually does appear in a rhetorical treatise of the Augustan Age. There it is used in connection with the claim that composition is more important than selection. This, too, must have been a traditional claim. At all events, it is one which this passage of Herodotus was peculiarly fitted to support, inasmuch as the biblical simplicity of the language used is such a marked contrast to the more or less rare and *recherché* vocabulary which was cultivated, for instance, by an author like Tacitus, and which was characteristic of rhetoric in general during and after the time of Dionysius himself. Indeed, although it is quite certain that Dionysius thoroughly believes in Herodotus, he, nevertheless, takes up the cudgels for him in a way that almost seems apologetic.⁷

(Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *The Three Literary Letters*, p. 11, n. 1), "that, in this instance, the charm lies not so much in the dialect, or indeed in the vaunted *σύνθεσις* itself, as in the attitude of the writer's mind as revealed in the entire narrative, style being interesting (here if anywhere) as the revelation of personality." Roberts has a similar note in his *D. H. on Literary Composition*, pp. 84 sq., where he also bids the reader compare and contrast the narrative of Livy 39, 9.

⁷ Of course the Ionic dialect of Herodotus, as Dionysius himself must

This passage of Dionysius besides being of unusual importance in itself is also the only one, so far as I know, in which the Herodotean tale of Candaules is used to illustrate a question of literary style. It will be observed that the portion of the story selected by Dionysius for discussion is the dialogue, not the narrative. This is entirely characteristic of rhetorical training in the schools. It is, therefore, no surprise to find that later references, in so far as they are scholastic in origin, are so largely confined to this particular portion of our story. But before considering these references, let us take up another important discussion of the story as a whole.

This belongs to the fifth century and is found in the *Progymnasmata* of the sophist Nikolaus. Long before the time of

have felt, undoubtedly does have a charm of its own, especially in a story like this. If we distrusted our own judgment, we might appeal to such ancient critics as Quintilian, 9, 4, 18, and Hermogenes, *De Ideis*, 362, 14 Spengel (cp. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, p. 36). We may grant perhaps that *σύνθεσις* as Dionysius defines it is superior to selection. We may even grant that his experiment on our passage of Herodotus has proved it. Nevertheless the fact still remains that he has failed to prove that the charm of the story is not due to the dialect. The reason—though he himself was apparently quite unaware of the fact—was because neither he nor anyone else could get rid of the Ionic dialect merely “by changing its distinctive forms into Attic, and without any further meddling with the language giving the conversation as it stands.”

In its form, as well as in its associations, the Ionic dialect has the dignity, the harmony, the flexibility of the old Epic. Ionic prose is not primitive in the sense of being inartistic. But it is old. Artistically as well as chronologically it is anterior to Attic prose. The same is true of the *λέξις εἰρομένη*, the type of literary composition—or, as Dionysius would call it, *σύνθεσις*—of which Herodotus has always been the great classical exemplar. ‘*Ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰρομένη λέξις*, says Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3, 9, *ἡ ἀρχαία ἐστίν*. ‘*Ἡροδότου Θουρίου ἥδ’ ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις· ταύτη γὰρ πρότερον μὲν πάντες, νῦν δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ χρῶνται*. “The *λέξις εἰρομένη* is the ancient type . . . formerly it was used by everyone, now by comparatively few.” In short, to state it in a slightly different fashion, Aristotle means that the *λέξις εἰρομένη*—or, as Dionysius might have said, the type of *σύνθεσις* which suggested that term—is eminently characteristic of Ionic prose as opposed to later Attic prose. Anyone who is really acquainted with a modern dialect at first hand, knows that it is characterized by its arrangement of thought quite as much as by its vocabulary. For the whole question of the *λέξις εἰρομένη* as developed by Herodotus for his special purpose, see Jacoby s. v. “Herodotus” in PRE, Suppl. II.

Nikolaus, *προγυμνάσματα* had assumed a very important place in the scheme of education (see above, pp. 2 sq.). Among the most interesting were the practice declamations, more particularly the so-called *ἀνασκευαί* or confutations (Quintilian 2, 4, 18 etc.). These were given the young students and were supposed to be learned by them. The third in the collection of Nikolaus (Rhet. Graeci, I 287 Walz) is entitled:

“Ὅτι οὐκ εἰκότα τὰ κατὰ Κανδαύλην

“That the story of Candaules is not credible.”

“There was a time when I had a wonderful opinion of historians as compared with poets; for the object of history is truth, the object of poetry is stories. But now it seems to me that Herodotus differs in no respect from the poets; for he obliterates the distinction between the two, and consequently preserves neither the charm of the metre nor the truth of history. One might criticize him for many things, but especially for the story he has told about Candaules. It runs as follows: Candaules, he says, who was a descendant of Hercules and in love with his own wife, exhibited her to Gyges. For he took Gyges with him into his own palace, stationed him behind the bedroom door, and gave him the opportunity of witnessing the Queen from there. She was aware that he saw her and was highly incensed; but she waited until morning, sent for Gyges and gave him the choice of two things—either to slay Candaules, or if he shrank from it, to be slain himself. Gyges chose to survive, Candaules fell, and marriage with his wife was the reward given for his murder.”

“This is the story as Herodotus tells it. All the statements in it can be picked to pieces in regular order. ‘Candaules is the descendant of Hercules.’ What indications of that pedigree are brought forward? The energy and ambition of Hercules were all in the direction of virtue and his deeds saved Greece; but Candaules had an eye only for pleasures. If he were a descendant of Hercules, how could he so belie his ancestry? How again could Candaules be in love with his own wife? For either he did not live with her or else he did live with her and therefore did not desire her; for intercourse destroys love, and the impulse of desire is killed by marriage. How too could he take Gyges into his palace? The palace was full of guards and crowded with people in every direction. Gyges would, therefore, be dragged off to execution before the King got him to the place proposed, and the trick would come to nought before Gyges saw the woman. And where in those rooms was he stationed for the view? Why, behind the door! If so, he would have escaped notice and therefore would not have seen her. For that which

is hidden from people is itself the first to escape notice. How could he see the woman naked? It was not the custom among the Lydians to strip oneself. Not even the men went without some covering, least of all the women. And why should a woman who is merely going to bed take off all her clothes? Women who derive an income from their favours, even if they were to strip themselves before men, would do so for the purpose of inspiring them with passion. Women who are chaste in their intercourse do not bring themselves to strip for the benefit of their husbands. How then could Gyges be present and look at a woman who, even to begin with, had not intended to take off all her clothes? Why did the woman send for Gyges and give him the choice of marriage, if she could not bear his seeing her, and why did she honor as a husband him whom she shrank from having as a spectator at such a time? How could she deliver the kingdom of the Lydians into his hands? Kings are chosen by peoples and by states. I really fail to see then how in the opinion of Herodotus a woman chooses a king and aspires to a fortune which a whole army does not confer. Herodotus ought not to have said these things and such things as these. And when he does say them, all we can do is to disbelieve him."

This *confutatio* is carefully worked out in accordance with the rules given for this type of composition by the sophist Theon (*Rhet. Graeci* I, p. 216 Walz). Some of the arguments touch on themes which had long been familiar to the schools. The reference to the virtue of Hercules, for instance, suggests a discussion which had seldom had an opportunity to rest since the time of Prodicus himself. It has no great value as an argument here, in fact none of the arguments presented here will impress the modern reader as of any great value. Nor indeed did they make any deep impression at that time. Herodotus had long since attained the position of a more or less impeccable classic and therefore no argument against him was taken very seriously. But this had not always been the case. Note, for example, that of all the themes used for *confutationes* by both Theon and Nikolaus, this is the only one taken from history. The rest are all taken from mythology. This in itself would suggest that there was a long tradition of adverse criticism of Herodotus with which the world was fairly familiar. We know that such was actually the case, although little is now left of it except Plutarch's essay *De Herodoti Malignitate*. This essay was written by a great man and one who was evidently more nearly in touch than was Theon with a living tradition of

the subject; but when it comes to the arguments presented, there is little to choose between the two.

Another version of our story as a whole is found in the section given to *δηγήματα* or rhetorical narrations in the *Progymnasmata* attributed to Libanius (vol. VIII, p. 43 F). The text is as follows:

"Ἡρα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν Γύγην ἐπὶ τὴν θῆαν τῆς ὥρας. ὁ δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἀρνούμενος ἐγκεκλιμένου τοῦ Κανδαύλου συνεχώρησεν. ὑφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ καταστὰς ὅπισθεν τῆς θύρας τὴν γυναῖκα καταγυμνουμένην ἰδὼν ἀπηλλάγη. ἡ δὲ μεταστραφεῖσα τὸ πραχθὲν οὐκ ἠγνόησεν, ἤνεγκε δὲ σιγῇ. μεταπέμπεται δὲ τὸν Γύγην, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἦν, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἀποθνήσκειν ἀντὶ τῆς θέας ἣ τοῦτο δρᾷν τὸν Κανδαύλην ὑπισχυομένη συνοικήσειν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὸν φόνον. τὸν Γύγην ἤρεσκε μὲν οὐδέτερον, εἰς δὲ τὸ κτείνειν ἀπέκλινε. καὶ διαχρησάμενος καθεύδοντα τὸν δεσπότην γαμῆι τε ἐκείνην καὶ βασιλεύει Λυδῶν.

The version of the scholiast on *Ælius Aristides*, XLV, 56 (III, p. 411 Dindorf) was, so to speak, a mere matter of business, but it is a good example of the type of rhetorical narratio just quoted:

Κανδαύλης Λυδῶν ἦν βασιλεὺς, παγκάλῃν ἔχων γυναῖκα· νόμον δὲ ὄντος, μὴ τινα τῶν ἐξωθεν δρᾷν τὰς βασιλίδας, ὁ Κανδαύλης ἐνέκειτο βιάζων τὸν Γύγην εἰς θῆαν τῆς γυναικὸς, ὑπηρέτην ὄντα αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν πρῶτην ἀπεπῆδα, χρόνῳ δὲ ὑπέizas τῷ Κανδαύλῃ βιάζοντι, καὶ εἶδε τὴν αὐτοῦ δέσποιναν. αὕτη οὖν λάβρα τουτοῖ μεταστελαμένη, ἡ θνήσκειν αὐτόν, ἡ κτείνειν τὸν δεσπότην ἔλεγε· καὶ ὅς αἰρεῖται τὸ δεύτερον, καὶ ταύτην γαμήσας βασιλεύει Λυδῶν.

We have next to consider the political verses of *Ioannes Tzetzes*, *Chiliades*, I 137-166 and VII 195-202, the text of which has already been given above.

Finally, and this is almost the last word in ancient literature, *Georgios* (born 1241), later known as *Patriarch Gregorios*, who, it seems, was deeply interested in elementary education, composed a school-book (preserved in *Harleianus* 5735 and other MSS). True to the pedagogical tradition which had prevailed for more than a millennium, it consists of a prose paraphrase of *Æsopic* fables, and some mythological pieces, among the rest the story of *Iphigenia*, of *Æneas*, of *Pandarus* and *Diomedes*, and of *Candaules* and *Gyges*. (See *Krumbacher*, *Gesch. der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2d. edit., Munich, 1897, p. 477.) The persistence of our story at this late date shows in itself that it had long been familiar to the schools. How familiar it was,

and how persistent the scholastic tradition of it was, is shown by the fact that so far as rhetorical narrations are concerned, it is one of the rare exceptions to the rule of a mythological rather than a historical or quasi-historical subject. In the forty-odd narrations of Libanius, for example, this story and two others are the only exceptions. Even in the confutations and refutations of Theon and his successors, the same rule holds good.

Such is the tradition of the entire story. It was characteristic, persistent and, so far as we can see, entirely scholastic. But this was only one aspect of the tradition. The passage, for example, in Ptolemæus Chennus (p. 192 W), already referred to above, shows that the Herodotean tale of Gyges was quite as much a subject of literary chit-chat in the First Century as was Plato's story of the Ring. It follows, therefore, that it had long been familiar to the Rhetorical Schools.

But the longest and perhaps the most important chapter in the tradition of this passage is concerned with two phrases. Both are found in the dialogue between Gyges and Candaules. The fact also that they are both sententious explains why they, and incidentally the dialogue in which they occur, were referred to so much oftener in the later tradition than anything else in the story. One of the notable features in the growth of rhetoric and rhetorical study under the Empire was the increasing fondness for sententiæ—using that word in the sense of sayings of general application—sometimes proverbial but not necessarily so.* Tacitus, as everyone knows, is famous for them and, as we shall see later, Herodotus was greatly admired for his skill in making them spring naturally from the context.

Turning now to the first of the two phrases which we have to consider, Herodotus makes Candaules say, "Gyges, when I tell thee of my wife's beauty, methinks thou dost not believe me (in fact men's ears are naturally less trustworthy than their eyes). *Ἰτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἄνθρωποις ἔοντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν.*" "Seeing is believing," to use the parallel phrase in English. The thought was of course not new. Indeed, the artistic value and fitness of it in this particular connection are due to the fact not

* Ernesti, *Lex. Techn.* s. v.; Seneca, *Controv. I, Praef.*; Quint. IV 2, 121; Theon, I, p. 200 W.

only that it was not new but that it was a commonplace familiar to everyone.

So far as Greece is concerned, however, the only notable occurrence of the thought, before Herodotus, seems to be in a fragment of Heraclitus quoted by Polybius 12, 27, 1.⁹ The passage reads:

δυσὲν γὰρ ὄντων κατὰ φύσιν ὥσανεί τινων ὀργάνων ἡμῖν, οἷς πάντα πυθανόμεθα καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦμεν, ἀκοῆς καὶ ὁράσεως, ἀληθινωτέρας δ' οὐσης οὐ μικρῇ τῆς ὁράσεως κατὰ τὸν Ἡράκλειτον· ὀφθαλμοὶ γὰρ τῶν ὄντων ἀκριβέστεροι μάρτυρες· Ἡράκλειτον here was changed to Ἡρόδοτον by Leutsch, etc., but Ἡράκλειτον is the reading of the MSS, and there is no good reason for doubting it.

Sophocles, *Ced. Tyr.* 1237,

αὐτὴ πρὸς αὐτῆς. τῶν δὲ πραχθέντων τὰ μὲν
ἀλγιστ' ἀπεστίν· ἡ γὰρ ὄψις οὐ πάρα,

though sometimes quoted in this connection, is hardly parallel.

Latin cognates are fairly numerous,¹⁰ but the only passage which one might suspect of being an echo of the Herodotean phrase is Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 180:

Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
Quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus, et quae
Ipse sibi tradit spectator.

On the Greek side, it is again Dionysius of Halicarnassus—if indeed Dionysius is the author of the following passage—who furnishes the first reference, *Rhetoric*, 11, p. 401:¹¹

Furthermore, figures of speech also indicate the distinctive quality of the barbarian mind, as was undoubtedly the case when Herodotus makes Candaules say to Gyges in the course of his

⁹ *Frag. XV Bywater*; *frag. 101a Diels*. See Diels' note and especially R. von Scala, *Studien des Polybios*, Stuttgart, 1890, I, pp. 88 ff.

¹⁰ Plautus, *Asin.* 202: *Semper oculatae manus sunt nostrae, credunt quod vident*; Plautus, *Truc.* 490 (also quoted by Apuleius, *Flor.* 2 and Festus, 179 M): *Pluris est oculatus testis unus quam auriti decem*; Terence, *Eun.* 350: *Vidi, novi*; Seneca, *N. Q.*, 4, 3, 1: *Itaque ex his me testibus numero secundae notae, qui audivisse quidem se, vidisse negant*, etc.; Seneca, *Epist.* 6, 5: *Homines amplius oculis quam auribus credunt*; Hieronymus, *Epist.* 64, 10: *Multoque plus intellegitur quod oculis videtur quam quod aure percipitur*. Cicero, *De Orat.* 3, 161, though quoted in this connection, is not in point.

¹¹ I doubt whether Strabo 2, 5, p. 117 is in any sense an echo of Herodotus.

conversation with him: "In fact, men's ears are naturally less trustworthy than their eyes." For he did not speak of 'hearing' and 'sight,' but transferred the thought to the parts of the body concerned.

It is quite true that a large use of figurative speech, especially in ordinary conversation, is more or less characteristic of the barbarian mind. But the long tradition of this particular use in Greek itself, beginning as we have seen as early at least as Heraclitus, suggests that Dionysius might have done better to select some other example. This, however, is a point with which we are not directly concerned.

Chronologically the first to consider after Dionysius is Philo Judaeus. He displays an extraordinary fondness for this thought, but, after a careful examination of his entire works, I can give no example which seems to be suggested by our phrase.

We now come to Lucian—in the discussion of a question like this always an author of unusual interest. Perhaps no late writer had a wider range of reading, certainly no one could make a more felicitous use, if he chose, of literary tradition. In this period of the first Sophistic Renaissance special attention, as we have already seen, was given to Herodotus. The passage from Nikolaus discussed above indicates that Herodotus in general and his stories of Cræsus and of Candaules in particular were firmly rooted in the schools. We gather from Lucian how familiar they must have been to the reading public—all of whom had been educated in those schools. An excellent example of Lucian's methods of dealing with Herodotean material is found in his *De Domo*, 19 ff. His description of the handsome building naturally brings up the question of the superiority of seeing to hearing. Lucian defends the former against an assumed opponent whom he calls *ὁ λόγος*. In the passage with which we are concerned Lucian says:

"Compare the story of the Sirens with that of the Gorgons, if you would know how insignificant is the power of words in comparison with that of visible objects. The enchantments of the former were at the best a matter of time; they did but flatter the ear with pleasing songs; if the mariner landed, he remained long on their hands, and it has even happened to them to be disregarded altogether. But the beauty of the Gorgons, irresistible in might, won its way to the inmost soul, and wrought amazement and dumbness in the beholder; admiration

(so the legend goes) turned him to stone. All that my opponent has just said about the peacock illustrates my point: that bird charms not the ear, but the eye. Take a swan, take a nightingale, and set her singing: now put a silent peacock at her side, and I will tell you which bird has the attention of the company. The songstress may go hang now; so invincible a thing is the pleasure of the eyes. Shall I call evidence? A sage, then, shall be my witness, how far mightier are the things of the eye than those of the ear. Usher, call me Herodotus, son of Lyxes, of Halicarnassus.—Ah, since he has been so obliging as to hear the summons, let him step into the box. You will excuse the Ionic dialect; it is his way.

“Gentlemen of the Jury, the Theory hath spoken sooth. Give good heed to that he saith, how sight is a better thing than hearing; for a man shall sooner trust his eyes than his ears.”

“You hear him, Gentlemen? He gives the preference to sight, and rightly. For words have wings; they are no sooner out of the mouth than they take flight and are lost; but the delight of the eyes is ever present, ever draws the beholder to itself. Judge, then, the difficulty the orator must experience in contending with such a rival as this Hall, whose beauty attracts every eye.” [Fowler’s trans.]

Again in his *De Saltatione*, 78, an essay in which it is several times suggested that pantomime appeals both to the ear and the eye, Lucian says:

“The eyes, according to Herodotus, are more credible witnesses than the ears; though the pantomime, by the way, appeals to both kinds of evidence.”

Finally, in his amusing essay on *The Way to Write History*, 29, he says:

“Another entertaining person, who has never set foot outside of Corinth, nor travelled as far as its harbour—not to mention seeing Syria or Armenia—starts with words which impressed themselves on my memory: ‘Seeing is believing’: *Ὅρα ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπιστότερα*. I therefore write what I have seen, not what I have heard.”

It will be noticed that no author is mentioned here, but we may be quite sure that both Lucian and the majority of his readers thought of Herodotus.

The next example on my list belongs to the second Sophistic Renaissance. In a letter to Leontinus (XXI, *Epistolog. Graeci*, p. 345, 45, Didot) the Emperor Julian begins an attack on his correspondent with

"The historian from Thurii says that 'men's ears are less trustworthy than their eyes.' So far as you are concerned, I hold the opposite opinion."

Again, in one of his speeches (4, 145 D) he says:

"Since the eyes are more trustworthy than the hearing though they are less trustworthy and weaker than the understanding, come let us endeavor," etc.

An unexpected and interesting application of our phrase is made by Libanius, Declam. 30, 53 (VI, p. 647 F). The envious man complains that his neighbor's handsome house is more than he can bear to look upon:

ἀμυδρὰν ἔχει τὰ ὄψα τὴν λύπην, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὀμμάτων ὀξεία τις ὁδὸν κατεῖσιν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν. ὁρᾶν δὲ καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον ἀνάγκη.¹²

Two generations later the ecclesiastic Theodoretus (Graec. Aff. Cur. 10, 103), discussing prophecy and emphasizing the fact that as a basis of belief seeing surpasses hearing, closes with the remark:

"And Herodotus cleverly tells us that men's ears are less trustworthy than their eyes. For the eyes of course see what the ears hear."

A scholiast on Aratus says in his Introduction [p. 89, Maass]:

Καλὸν κατὰ τὸν Κυρηναῖον [Callimachus, Epig. 27] ἀμείψασθαι τῇ λόγῳ τὸν Ἀράτου πόνον, ὃν ἐπόνησεν

ἡμνος (οὐδὲ οἱ ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτεν ·

Πλημάδας εἰσορόωντι καὶ ὁψὲ δύνοντα Βοώτην

Ἄρκτον θ', ἣν καὶ Ἀμαξαν ἐπὶ κλησιν καλέουσιν)

ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰθακήσιον κυβερνήτην (Odyss. 5, 271-3) · τῇ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλικαρνασσεῖ (Herod. 1, 8) ὄψα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν τυγχάνει, Ἄρατος δὲ τὴν μάθησιν ἅμα τοῖς ὤσιν ἐπιδείκνυσιν τοῖς ὀμμασιν.

The Scholia Veneta (Homer, Il. T, 292) give the thought; but no necessary suggestion of an echo of Herodotus is to be detected either here or in the following passage from Theophylactus Simocatta, Dial. 10, 1 [vol. I, p. 177 Ideler]:

¹² We cannot say that there is an echo of Herodotus in the Pseudo-Clementine Recognitiones, III 44, where in a supposed argument between Peter and Simon Magus we have: Which of the two can better persuade an incredulous man, seeing or hearing? Then Simon said: "Seeing."

ταῖς φιλοπευθέσι ψυχαῖς κόρος οὐκ ἔστι γνώσεως. οὐκοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν
 ῥύσαν ὁ λόγος, Ἀντίσθενες. ὧτα γάρ μοι ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπληστότερα.

Finally, Apostolius XVIII, 71, Par. Graeci, II, p. 744, sets down ὧτιον πιστότεροι ὀφθαλμοί in his collection of proverbs and offers the following grammatical explanation in his note:

ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλόγως τὰ μείω τοῖς κρείττοσι παραβαλλομένων. ἰστέον δ' ἂν
 σοι εἶη, ὡς τὸ ἀκοῦν οὐ μόνον γενικῇ ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰτιατικῇ συντάσσεται, ὡς
 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα κατηγορήματα τῶν αἰσθήσεων πλὴν τῆς ὀράσεως·
 ἐκείνη γὰρ μόνῃ αἰτιατικῇ ἅτε βασιλικωτέρα τῶν ἄλλων οὖσα καὶ ἐφ' ἐνὸς
 ἰδρῆσθαι μόνον προσήκουσα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄνω καὶ κάτω φέρεσθαι.¹²

The phrases collected by the Paroemiographi are not always proverbs in the strict sense of the word. On the contrary, the collection is more often a cross between Bartlett's 'Familiar Quotations' and Fumagalli's 'Chi l'ha detto?' The phrase, however, not only sounds like a genuine proverb but differs from Herodotus in the arrangement of the thought. ὧτιον πιστότεροι ὀφθαλμοί would be the natural statement of the idea in Greek. Herodotus states it as 'ears less trustworthy than eyes' because the reversal, so to speak, is more in harmony with his context.

The history of this phrase, as will be seen from the survey just given, has a certain interest and significance of its own. When Herodotus used it, it had long been a commonplace, almost a proverb. Indeed, it was for that very reason that he did use it. But as early at least as the second century of our era it was so thoroughly identified with the Herodotean account of Candaules that it had assumed the character of a definite literary allusion. The principal, if not the only, reason for it was the fact that this particular passage was carefully studied in the Rhetorical Schools.

To the same cause may be traced the long vitality of another phrase in our story. This is the statement of Gyges in his reply to Candaules that "woman, in putting off her raiment, also putteth off her respect": ἄμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένη συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. Like its predecessor just discussed and for the same reason, this also should be a commonplace. That this actu-

¹² Cf. Ap. Dysc. περὶ συντάξεως 290, 10 sqq. (Bekker) and B. L. Gildersleeve, A Syntactician among the Psychologists, Journ. Philos. Psychol. and Scientific Methods, II 93.—C. W. E. M.

ally was the case is shown by the famous saying which Diogenes Laertius attributes to Theano the wife of Pythagoras (8, 1, 43):

"She advised the woman intending to go to her own husband to put off her modesty together with her garments, and when she arose to put it on again with them": *τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα μελλούσῃ πορεύεσθαι παρῆναι ἅμα τοῖς ἐνδύμασι καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνῃ ἀποτίθεσθαι, ἀνισταμένην τε πάλιν ἅμα αὐτοῖσιν ἀναλαμβάνειν.*

This in itself presupposes the existence even in Theano's time of the commonplace which long afterwards Herodotus put in the mouth of Gyges.

The same commonplace seems to have suggested the same discussion and the same conclusion to Plutarch. In the *Coniug. Praecepta*, 10, 139 C, he observes that

"Herodotus is not correct in saying that a woman lays off her modesty together with her raiment. On the contrary, the chaste woman puts on modesty instead," etc.

Here, as with the phrase previously discussed, the attribution to Herodotus of what, in substance at least, was an ancient commonplace indicates how firmly his tale of Gyges was fixed in the literary tradition. Cp., also, Plutarch, *De audiendo*, 1.

We have already seen that the story was studied in the Rhetorical Schools of the second century. In this connection it is interesting to observe that while discussing the use of *sententiæ*, which he says should spring naturally from the context, Theon (I, p. 200 Walz) quotes two from Herodotus—one from the story of Cræsus, the other, our phrase, from the story of Gyges. Such being the case, the phrase must have been doubly and trebly familiar in later times. And that this was the case is also suggested by the fact that it occurs no less than twice in the *Florilegium* of Stobæus—32, 8, and again, more correctly, in 74, 36.

In his *Pædagogus* II, 10, 100 (I, p. 299 Dindorf), Clemens Alexandrinus says:

δεῖ δὲ καθαρῷ καθαρῷ θέμει θιγγάνειν· μὴ δὲ ἅμα χιτῶνι ἀποδυμένῃ ἀποδυώμεθα καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ ποτε, ἐπεὶ οὐδέποτε τῷ δικαίῳ σωφροσύνην ἀποδύσασθαι θέμει.

The Scholiast (p. 444) on this passage quotes the Herodotean phrase.

Clement was one of the best educated as well as one of the most gifted of the Church Fathers. The same cannot be said of Theodoretus, whose reference to the phrase regarding eyes and ears has already been noted. In his *Graec. Affect. Curatio* 9, 42, he quotes the following passage from Plato (*Leg. XI* 925 A) :

τὴν δὲ τοῦ τῶν γάμων χρόνου συμμετρίαν τε καὶ ἀμετρίαν ὁ δικαστὴς σκοπῶν κρινέτω, γυμνοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἄρρενας, γυμνὰς δὲ ὁμφολοῦ μέχρι θεόμενος τὰς θηλείας.

After which the worthy ecclesiastic allows himself to remark impressively that

“The one who made these laws did not remember the words of the wife of Candaules. For when her husband bade her show her naked body to him, she said very chastely that a woman in putting off her raiment at the same time put off her modesty.”

Theodoretus gets many of his quotations from the classics indirectly through Eusebius and others. This, however, is one which his latest editor counts among those secured at first hand. If so, Theodoretus must have had a very poor memory. I, myself, should be inclined to believe that he had a fair memory of the phrase, because he had learned it in school, but only a vague recollection of the story in which it was found.

This completes the ancient history of our phrase, so far as I have been able to trace it. As regards the sentiment expressed, it is to be observed that Dionysius does not consider it as specifically barbarian—in spite of the fact that Herodotus himself further down felt called upon to explain the resentment of the Queen by stating that “among the Lydians, and nearly all the other barbarians, even for a man to be seen naked is reckoned a deep disgrace.”

As a matter of fact, the standard of modesty is much more a matter of convention than is generally supposed. It varies more or less according to race, period, etc. Nothing is better known to the modern world than the attitude of the Greeks on this subject, as set forth in the statement of Herodotus just quoted; cf. also Plato, *Resp.* 452 C, and Philostratus, *Imagines* I, 30. But the attitude of the nation, even if truthfully stated, is not necessarily the attitude of the individual. One Lysidice, as described by Dio the philosopher (*Clem. Alex. Strom.* 4, 19,

120), would have been unusual even in the severest years of the Victorian Age:

Ναὶ μὴν Δίῳν ὁ φιλόσοφος Λυσιδίκην τινὰ γυναῖκα ἱστορεῖ δι' ὑπερβολὴν αἰδοῦς αὐτῇ χιτῶνι λουέσθαι, Φιλωτέραν δέ, ὅποτε μέλλοι εἰσιέναι τὴν πύλον, ἥσυχῇ ἐπαναστέλλεσθαι τὸν χιτῶνα καθ' ὅσον τὰ γυμνά τὸ ὕδωρ ἔσκεπεν, εἶτα κατ' ὀλίγον αὖθις ἀνισύσαν ἐπενδύσασθαι.

And we may be sure that there never was a time in any country when a woman of character would not have resented bitterly the treatment which Candaules accorded his queen.

One more phrase remains to be considered before proceeding to other matters. This is *χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς*. It is not a sententia. The remarkable vitality of it is rather due to the fact that it is so eminently characteristic of Greek in general and of Herodotus in particular. It is a homely expression of that idea of Nemesis, or balance, which was so firmly fixed in the antique mind and so characteristic of antique thought. The Tragedy could hardly have existed without it, and, as for Herodotus, his entire book is one long lesson in it. The story of Candaules and the story of Croesus are conspicuous examples of it, but there are others; and in fact Herodotus makes the same comment no less than four times elsewhere (2, 161; 4, 79; 5, 92 d; 9, 109). Nevertheless, and here again scholastic rhetoric was undoubtedly the carrier, this phrase was not only felt to be distinctively Herodotean, but it was regularly associated with his story of Candaules. That this was the case is shown by Lucian in his *Asinus* 28. Relating the story of his adventures and mishaps in the form of an ass, the hero says at this point:

"But when we went to the field, the herdsman mingled me with the horses and led us to the herd for pasture. And really after that it was written that I should fare as did Candaules; for the overseer of the horses left me behind in the hands of his wife Megapole, and she harnessed me to the mill," etc.

The sentence in question is: *ἐχρῆν δὲ ἄρα κἀνταῦθα ὥσπερ Κανδαύλῃ κάμοι γενέσθαι*. What is the solution of the puzzle? The old scholar Wesselingius said, supply *κακῶς*. This of course is correct. That it should be so shows in itself how familiar the Herodotean version was to the contemporary reading public.

Again, in his essay on *The Way to Write History*, Lucian says (18):

"Again, it would be a sinful neglect to omit the man who begins like this: 'I devise to tell of Romans and Persians'; then a little later, 'For 'twas Heaven's decree that the Persians should suffer evils'; ἔδεε γὰρ Πέρσῃσι γενέσθαι κακῶς; and again, 'One Osroes there was, whom Hellenes name Oxyroes'—and much more in that style. He corresponds, you see, to one of my previous examples; only he is a second Herodotus, and the other a second Thucydides."

An epigram of Agathias (A. P. VII 567):

Κανδαύλου τόδε σῆμα · Δίκη δ' ἐμὸν οἶτον ἰδοῦσα
οὐδὲν ἀλιτράνειν τὴν παράκοιτιν ἔφη.
ἤθελε γὰρ δισσοῖσιν ὑπ' ἀνδράσι μὴδὲ φανῆναι,
ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν πρὶν ἔχειν, ἢ τὸν ἐπιστάμενον.
χορὴν ἄρα Κανδαύλῃ παθεῖν κακόν · οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔτλη
δείξαι τὴν ἰδίην ὀμμασιν ἄλλοτρίοις.

shows that the phrase was equally familiar to the public three hundred years later.

Finally, two examples are quoted from Procopius—one from the Bell. Pers. I 25, 26:

Ἰωάννης δὲ (χορὴν γὰρ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι κακῶς) τὴν βασιλείῳ ὑποθήκην
ἐν ἀλογίᾳ πεποιημένος,

the other from Bell. Goth. I 4, 4:

Ἀμαλασούνθα δὲ (χορὴν γάρ οἱ γενέσθαι κακῶς) ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ φύσιν
τὴν Θεοδάτου ποιησαμένη.

It will be observed that in neither case does he appear to be conscious of making a quotation at all. But in view of what has been said above, we may be tolerably certain that he knew the phrase to be Herodotean.

But the tradition of this story is by no means confined to phrases alone. On the contrary, its use for other purposes is quite as noticeable. A case in point is the very idea of Nemesis illustrated by the phrase just discussed. In the Tragedy it generally appears in the form of Ate, or divine vengeance. In everyday life it appears as the ups and downs of fickle fortune, a subject of which the world at large never grew weary. The guests, for example, at Trimalchio's dinner table, most of whom are freedmen, discuss it as freely and eagerly as in the same situation we would wax enthusiastic over politics or our favorite dishes. Above all in the Rhetorical Schools, the presentation of this subject in various forms continued until the very end of

antiquity itself. The Tenth Satire of Juvenal, the Sixty-fourth Oration (De Fortuna) in the corpus of Dio Chrysostomus—and many others might be mentioned—are devoted entirely to this subject. Socrates, Cicero, Demosthenes, Priam, Alexander, Xerxes, Seianus, Pompey, Marius, Hannibal, Sardanapallus, Caesar, Mithridates—history and mythology were ransacked for striking examples, and most of them became commonplaces in the Rhetorical Schools. Few were so familiar and so notable as Xerxes, Croesus, and Candaulus—all three furnished by Herodotus. We have seen how Candaulus was treated by Herodotus. With him the story of Gyges becomes a great tragedy of destiny. In Justinus, Candaulus has already become a mere illustration of the theme so long familiar to the Rhetorical Schools. “Fuere Lydis,” says Justinus at the very beginning of his account, “multi ante Croesum reges variis casibus memorabiles, nullus tamen fortunae Candauli comparandus” (I 7, 14).

Another characteristic method of dealing with this theme is furnished by [Dio Chrysostomus] De Fortuna, LXIV 27:

θησαυροὶ μὲν εἰς ἀνθρώπους οὗτοι παρὰ θεοῖς· ταμεῖναι δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἡ τύχη καὶ ῥήτορι καὶ στρατηγῷ καὶ πένητι καὶ πλουσίῳ καὶ πρεσβύτῃ καὶ νέῳ. Κροῖσφ δίδωσι χρυσόν, Κανδαύλῃ γυναῖκα, Πηλεὶ ξίφος, Νέστορι ἀσπίδα, Πτερέλῃ κόμην χρυσήν, Νίσφ πλόκαμον πορφυροῦν, Ἀλκιβιάδῃ κάλλος, Σωκράτει φρόνησιν, Ἀριστείδῃ δικαιοσύνην, Λακεδαιμονίοις γῆν, Ἀθηναίοις θάλατταν. εἶτα ἐν μέρει τούτων μὲν ἀφείλετο, ἄλλοις δὲ ἔδωκεν. καὶ οὐδὲν μοι δοκεῖ ὁ βίος τῶν ἀνθρώπων πομπῆς διαφέρειν ἐν ταῖς ἡμερησίοις μεταβολαῖς.

In Justinus as well as in Herodotus, the visible instrument of Destiny is the woman. She is the evil genius of the doomed king. Viewed from this angle, Candaulus was called upon to illustrate another theme, which not only in the Rhetorical Schools but in the world at large has been familiar ever since the temptation of Eve. This is the assertion that the greatest enemy of mankind is womankind. As the old English etymologer has it, “woman is woe-man.” The most striking example of this for our purpose is furnished by Achilles Tatius I 8. In this passage Clinias, hearing that his friend is about to be married, attempts to dissuade him from it by citing a number of dreadful examples, among the rest,

“Eriphyle’s necklace, Philomela’s dinner, Sthenoboea’s lie,

Aërope's theft, Procne's murder. Agamemnon desired the beauty of Chryseis, Achilles that of Briseis—the one lover brought a plague upon the Greeks, the other mourning upon himself. Candaules married a beautiful wife; but by her he was slain."

The nature and peculiarities of love and lovers were much discussed in antiquity, especially by the philosophers and afterwards in the Rhetorical Schools. Most of us, for example, have met the man who insists on telling us all about his love-affair. The same man was quite as common in antiquity, and the standard example of him appears to have been Candaules.

Why does he insist on making Gyges his confidant? Because, says Herodotus, it was written that Candaules should come to ruin. Justinus says,

"Hic uxorem, quam propter formae pulchritudinem deperiebat, praedicare omnibus solebat, non contentus voluptatum suarum tacita conscientia, nisi etiam matrimonii reticenda publicaret, prorsus quasi silentium damnum pulchritudinis esset." "Exactly as though silence were a diminution of her beauty."

After all, the rhetorician has explained much in a single phrase. So, too, Plutarch in a discussion on love says (Quaest. Conviv. I 5, 6):

"And though they take the greatest delight in looking at those they love they take no less delight in praising them than in looking at them. And love, garrulous as it is anyhow, is extremely so in the matter of praises. For lovers are themselves thoroughly persuaded, and they wish everybody else to be thoroughly persuaded, that those whom they love are beautiful and good. This is what roused the Lydian Candaules to induce Gyges into his apartment as a spectator. . . . For they wish their statements supported by the testimony of others."

The attitude is familiar enough. Many illustrations of it might be quoted, cp. for example Tibullus IV 13, 7-8 with my note:

nil opus invidia est, procul absit gloria vulgi:
qui sapit, in tacito gaudeat ille sinu.¹⁴

¹⁴ The act of Candaules in exhibiting his wife as described by Herodotus and Justinus is quite credible. There is no reason for disbelieving a similar story which Suetonius tells of Caligula (25): *Caesoniam neque facie insigni neque aetate integra matremque iam ex alio viro trium filiarum, sed luxuriae ac lasciviae perditae, et ardentius et con-*

But, after all, the feelings of Candaules and, which is not generally taken into account, the feelings of Gyges are perhaps best described in Suckling's song in which we are told that:

If, when Dan Cupid's dart
Doth wound a heart,
We hide our grief
And shun relief,
The smart increaseth on that score;
For wounds unsearcht but rankle more.

Then if we whine, look pale,
And tell our tale,
Men are in pain
For us again;
So, neither speaking doth become
The lover's state, nor being dumb.

When this I do descry
Then thus think I:
etc., etc.

stantius amavit, ut saepe chlamyde peltaque et galea ornatam ac iuxta adequitantem militibus ostenderit, amicis vero etiam nudam. uxorio nomine dignatus est tquam enixam, uno atque eodem die professus et maritum se eius et patrem infantis ex ea natae. Nor for that matter is the type unknown to the mediaeval *novelle* of France and Italy. As Radet says: "Il n'y a rien d'anormal à ce qu'un souverain d'Orient se soit enorgueilli de son harem. Tout au contraire. Ensuite, dans cette frénésie d'enchantement qu'inspire à Candaule une forme admirable, il se pourrait qu'à la vanité amoureuse se mêlât quelque sentiment esthétique. Hérodote n'est pas seul à présenter le Sandonide comme un amateur du beau, passionnément épris du charme des lignes et des contours. C'est bien une physionomie d'artiste que Plinie lui attribue [XXXV 34, 2; VII 39, 1; cf. VII 57, 14]. . . . Candaule eut, à n'en pas douter, le goût des arts, et ce fut très probablement ce dilettantisme qui donna lieu à la tradition populaire dont Hérodote s'est fait l'écho" (*La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Mermnades*, Paris, 1893, p. 131). It is this type of man which Gautier drew with great care in his well-known story 'Le Roi Candaule,' and which Hebbel attempted though with less success in his once famous play, *Gyges und sein Ring*. C. Fries, *Oriental. Lit.-Ztg.* 1910, 346 f. (cp. Lehmann-Haupt PRE VII, p. 1966) shows clearly enough that in this particular at least the folly of Candaules is an echo not of his dilettantism but of the old story of *Ishtar*, the Babylonian *Venus*. So far as the ancients were concerned, everyone was quite well aware that the type represented by Candaules, *Caligula* and their kind is not, and never has been, surprisingly rare. In this type, mere overweening pride of ownership—the impulse that

Three passages remain to be considered. The first is found in the speech of Aelius Aristides in Defence of Rhetoric (Orat. XLV 56—II, p. 74 Dindorf).

"My opponents claim," he says in substance, "that rhetoric incites to crime. The claim is ridiculous. On the contrary, it holds up to reprobation as nothing else can. Let us take the case of Gyges and Candaules. *οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' εἰ Πλάτων οἶσται τοῦτοιας ἐλέγχειν αὐτήν, ὥρα καὶ τὰ Γύγου τοῦ Λυδοῦ προσεγκαλεῖν αὐτῇ ὁμαι—ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἀτοπώτερα—ὅτι τὸν δεσπότην ἀποκτείνας ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν· ἡ δὲ συνῆδει καὶ συνέπραττεν ἡ τοῦ μὲν γυνή, τοῦ δὲ δέσποινα.*"

In his funeral oration for the Emperor Julian (18, 294—II, p. 365 F), Libanius, after describing the ruin, the suffering, the desolation, which accompanied and followed the cruel and untimely death of his beloved friend and pupil, is moved, as well he may be, to inquire why such things are.

"It were nothing strange," he says in substance, "if in days like these any man might feel, as I feel, that never to die would be a penalty. And yet I did think that the gods ought to reward that marvelous man now gone, not with that penalty, but with children, with ripe old age, and length of dominion. They did not. On the other hand, there are the Lydian kings—all of them, my God, the seed of Gyges, him with the hands unclean. One of them reigned for thirty-nine years, another for fifty-seven; and he himself the impious guardsman for thirty-eight."

Again in Orat. 25, 69 (II 571 F), supporting his claim that slaves cannot be trusted, he says:

"A great many things teach me that lesson; among the rest, the Lydian guardsman who slew his master and took all he had, both his wife and his kingdom."

Note that the sentence ends much as does the concluding sentence of both Herodotus and Justinus.

These three passages are the only ones in which any emphasis whatever is laid upon the guilt of either Gyges or his accomplice. That this should be the case is a good illustration of the extraordinary conservatism of scholastic tradition.

It will be seen that so far as their later tradition is concerned, the experience of these two stories was much the same. Both of them lived in and by the schools. Even their Roman experi-

prompts the collector to exhibit some unique treasure, is quite sufficient in itself to explain the situation.

ence was parallel. There is no indication now that the passage of Herodotus was ever translated by any Roman, much less that it was ever known or used in the Roman schools. In fact, so far as I know, the Latin tradition of it begins and ends with the possible echo of a single phrase in Horace already discussed above. The only version of the story of Gyges to be found in Latin at all is by Justinus. It would be this version if any that would appear in the Roman schools. The story as Herodotus tells it is not calculated to appeal to the Roman mind, above all to the Roman professorial mind. The psychology of it is too unusual.

Now, of course, it would be ridiculous to assume from the testimony I have gathered that during all the long period from the death of Herodotus and Plato to the fall of the Eastern Empire there were not a great many people who read the two stories in question, quite apart from the fact that during all that time they appear to have been safely ensconced in the regular course of preliminary training which every educated man was supposed to have followed. Many people even in these days know more of Shakespeare and Milton than those selections which they were obliged to study when in college. The life of a great classic is by no means accurately gauged by the number of times it happens to be quoted or echoed in the later tradition of literary art. Nevertheless, the time always seems to come in the intellectual life of every nation when the classics are more talked about than read, when the only portions of them known at first hand are likely to be those which are included in the scheme of regular education, and therefore cannot be avoided or neglected. This investigation indicates, so far as it goes, that the last thousand years of the Graeco-Roman Empire were such a period. During all those centuries literary allusion to the great authors of the past often seems to be rich and varied. But when, among other things, we observe the regularity and the frequency with which certain stock phrases continue to recur, we realize that the richness and variety of such allusions are more apparent than real. Furthermore, if, following the method and scope of this investigation, we were to examine the pedigree of every such allusion and set aside all those that are clearly traceable to the schools, the residuum would hardly be visible, I suspect, to the naked eye.

As we have seen, thanks to the extraordinary conservatism and

vitality of scholastic training and apparently to them alone, the tradition of the two passages which we have been considering continued unbroken to the dawn of the Renaissance. With that great period of awakening and the return, after many ages, of the Greek Classics to the West, the life of our two passages like that of others loses scholastic support in the earlier sense, and thenceforth is to be traced for the most part in the literature of the modern languages. I subjoin here such references and echoes as I have happened to observe in the course of reading. Naturally a systematic and thorough search would reveal a great many more. Such as I have, however, are not without a certain interest and significance.

Let us first consider the story told by Plato. The earliest reference I have noticed to the ring of Gyges is found in Rabelais V 8:¹⁵

Auquel iour Pantagruel requeroit instamment veoir Papegaut: mais Aeditue respondit, qu'il ne se laissoit ainsi facilement veoir. Comment, dist Pantagruel, a-il l'armet de Pluton en teste, l'anneau de Gyges és griffes, ou vn Chameleon en sein, pour se rendre inuisible au monde?

The reference to the Cap of Hades in this connection suggests that Rabelais drew his information directly from Plato not from Cicero's translation of the story. His statement with regard to the chameleon goes back to Pliny, XXVIII 115.

Later references belong for the most part to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries:

Guillaume Bouchet, *Les Serées*, vol. V, p. 20, Paris, Lemerre, 1881, in a discussion of the properties of various precious stones, says:

Et possible, adioustoit-il, que la pierre Siderite, dont nous parlons, se mouue naturellement au feu, comme l'Astriote se mouue dans le vinaigre, et font à croire à ceux qui regardent remuer ces pierres, que quelque esprit parle à eux, car quand nous ne pouvons rendre raison de quelque chose, et que la

¹⁵ Rings, jewels, and other charms conferring invisibility are frequently mentioned in mediaeval romances of chivalry and adventure. Most notable perhaps is the ring of Lunet (Chrestien de Troyes, *Yvain*, 1057 ff.). Lunet might have inherited it from Gyges; at all events, Chrestien was probably well acquainted with Cicero. But no definite connection can be shown.

Nature se peut cognoistre, tout incontinent nous iugeons y avoir en cela quelque divinité, ou quelque mistere occulte, dont on ne peut rendre raison, comme en l'Anneau de Gyges Roy des Lidiens, auquel y avoit vne pierre, qui avoit telle vertu que tournée vers luy, il voyoit tout ce qu'il vouloit, sans estre veu.

Du Bellay, *Les Amours*, XX:

Je souhaite plustost pour voir ce beau visage
Où le ciel a posé son plus parfaict ouvrage
L'anneau qui fait en Roy transformer un Berger.

Robert Greene (?), *Selimus*, line 2126:

We thought you had old Gyges' wondrous ring,
That so you were invisible to us.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Fair Maid of the Inn*, I 1:

Why, did you think that you had Gyges' ring,
Or the herb that gives invisibility?

Ben Jonson, *New Inn*, I 1:

Fer. Because indeed I had
No medicine, sir, to go invisible,
No fernseed in my pocket nor an opal,
Wrought in bay leaf, in my left fist, to charm
Their eyes with.

Host. He does give you reasons, sir,
As round as Gyges' ring, which, say the ancients,
Was a hoop ring.

John Marston, *Satyres*, I 5; *Works*, ed. Bullen, III 263:

Tell me, brown Ruscus, hast thou Gyges' ring,
That thou presum'st as if thou wert unseen?

Id., *The Fawn*, III 1; *Works*, II 170:

What, did he think to walk invisibly before our eyes? And he had Gyges' ring I would find him.

George Chapman, *Monsieur d'Olive*, II 1 [London, Pearson, 1, p. 212]:

As private as I had King Gyges' ring
And could have gone invisible, yet saw all.

Id., *ibid.*, V 1 [p. 247]:

Let him enjoy the benefit of the enchanted ring, and stand a while invisible: at our best opportunity we'll discover him to the Duke.

Robert Herrick, *Hesperides*, begins his poem "Lovers how they come and part" with:

A Gyges ring they beare about them still,
To be, and not, seen when and where they will.

M. Delrio, *Disquisitiones Magicae, Moguntiae*, 1624, p. 186:

Sic fraude daemonum Domitiani oculis se subtraxit Apollonius [apud] Philostratum, sic Gyges latebat fictitio illo tectus annulo apud Ciceronem, sic de Persei clypeo Graeculi fabulantur.

In her *Artamène ou le Grand Cyrus* (Paris, 1649-1653), Mlle de Scudéry makes one of her characters, the king of Pontus, possessor of the ring of Gyges. Mandane falls into his power but is finally rescued by the hero. See Dunlop-Wilson, II, p. 435 and note.

References in modern writers seem to turn up in unlikely places. For example, Mary Johnston, *Sir Mortimer*, 1904, p. 33, presumably imitating Lyly's euphuism, says:

Ulysses took Moly in his hand when there came to meet him Circe's gentlemen pensioners, and Gyges' ring not only saved him from peril but brought him wealth and great honor.

And we are told by Warwick Deeping, *Uther and Igraine*, 1903, p. 244, that:

Staunch sympathy like Gige's (*sic*) ring has power over most hidden things of the heart, and Gorlois was very human.

Finally, in *Elinor Glyn's Three Weeks*, p. 65, Paul's 'lady friend' tells him that:

We will rob *Mercure (sic)* of his sandals and Gyges of his ring.

Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, VII, chap. 18:

If anyone makes a doubt of Giges' ring in Iustinus . . . for my part I shall not be angry with his incredulity.

The Doctor means Cicero, of course. The mistake is not uncommon.

On the whole—and, after all, this is quite natural—the story told by Herodotus seems to have made a deeper impression on the modern world than has the story of Plato. Herodotus was translated into French by Saliat in 1575 and into English by "B. R." (books I and II) in 1584; for his translation of this passage see Roberts' note on Dionysius of Halicarnassus on *Literary Composition*, London, 1910, pp. 82 ff. The story, however, had already been freely told after Herodotus by Painter in the sixth

tale of his "Pallace of Pleasure," 1566. Not far from the same date, Nicolao Granucci in his *Piacevol Notte, et Lieto Giorno*, Venetia, Vidali, 1574, p. 48 *verso*, speaking of the misfortunes of Croesus and their causes, retells the story of the king's ancestor, Gyges, as related by Herodotus.

Robert Greene, *The Carde of Fancie*, Works, ed. Grosart, vol. IV, p. 39, among many traditional examples cited of the woes that men suffer on account of women says:

Candaules was slaine by his murthering wife whom so intirelie he loued.

John Lyly, *Euphues*, vol. I, p. 210, Bond:

Tush, the case is lyght where reason taketh place; to love and to lyve well, is not graunted to Iupiter.¹⁶ Who so is blinded with the caule of beautie, decerneth no coulour of honestie. Did not Giges cut Candaules a coate by his owne measure?

In his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, III, p. 353 (Shilleto), speaking of the vagaries of lovers, Burton says:

In the other extreme some are too liberal, as the proverb is, *turdus ipse malum sibi cacat*, they made a rod for their own tails, as Candaules did to Gyges in Herodotus, commend his wife's beauty himself, and besides would needs have him see her naked.

In the old play of *Elvira* (Dodsley-Hazlitt, XV, p. 9) Digby says:

It were a wonder worthy of your wit,
To make me trust my ears before my eyes.

But neither this nor Lucretius V 100-103 is likely to have been an echo of the familiar Herodotean phrase.¹⁷

Such a line as

A happie starre made Giges ioie attaine

(*Paradise of Dayntie Devises*, p. 114, Collier), might have been suggested by either Plato or Herodotus, it is impossible to say which.

¹⁶ Bond forgets to mention in his note that this phrase is an echo of Publilius Syrus'

Amare et sapere vix deo conceditur.

¹⁷ Cp. Tennyson, *Enoch Arden*, 762, and see Mustard, *Classical Echoes* in Tennyson, p. 142.

Among imitations of Herodotus, the most notable perhaps is Lafontaine's conte, "Le Roi Candaule et le Maître en droit." Bouret's "L'Imprudence de Candaule," written at about the same time, is less known and not easily obtainable. I, therefore, subjoin the text here (*Anthologie Satyrique*, V, p. 51):

Jambe, genou, cuisse, téton, épaule,
 Tout en la reine est ouvrage parfait,
 Ami Gygès, disait un jour Candaule;
 Rien de plus beau la nature n'a fait.
 Sur son gent corps qui n'a rien qui ne plaise,
 Je voudrais bien savoir ton sentiment,
 Caché seras en lieu d'où bien à l'aise
 Apprécieras cet objet si charmant.
 Il tint parole. O le plus fou des hommes!
 Ton imprudence aveugle alla trop loin.
 Mais aux maris dans le siècle où nous sommes,
 Femmes l'on voit épargner un tel soin.

In both these versions, the attitude towards the characters is that of Justinus. It is the characteristic attitude of the Latin races.¹⁸

Baldassar Scaramelli (*Novelle*, Carmagnola, 1585) tells a story much like that of Herodotus or rather of Justinus. It is not likely, however, that it owes anything to either of them. The plot as stated by Scaramelli himself is as follows:

Un cavalier Pisano avendo per moglie la più bella donna di quel tempo, s'invoglia farla veder nuda a un suo lealissimo amico. Ella ciò niega, ond'egli a suo malgrado di nascosto fa vederla: del che la donna accortasi, dall'istesso che la vide fa goderse, e ciò per far dispetto al suo marito.

Modern versions of the story begin in the first half of the nineteenth century. The best known are Théophile Gautier's "Le Roi Candaule," a short story, and F. Hebbel's "Gyges und sein Ring," a tragedy. Less known, but an excellent piece of work, is Robert Lytton's narrative poem "Gyges and Candaules" (*Chronicles and Characters*, London, 1868, vol. I, p. 66). Equally good is "Gyges's Ring," a dramatic monologue, New York, 1901, the first published work, I believe, of Rupert

¹⁸ Brantôme, *Dames Galantes*, I, p. 64 (Jouaust), combines the two stories. The note ad loc. cites Cicero's version, but the source was Justinus and possibly Herodotus.

Hughes. André Gide's tragedy, "*Le Roi Candaule*," appeared in the same year. It is the last, and in some respects the best, of all the modern versions. Finally, I may mention, merely for the sake of completing the record, C. W. Lisle's "*Ring of Gyges, Some Passages in the Life of Francis Neville*," London, Bentley, 1886. The story seems to have been suggested more or less vaguely by a hasty reading, on the part of the author, of Gautier's version. Otherwise it is perhaps sufficiently described by the statement that it ought to, and probably did, belong to Mudie's Select Library of Fiction. At all events I, myself, never saw it but once. That was in the drawing-room of the vicarage in a village in the south of England.

By way of concluding this long investigation, I should like to call attention to two points which it illustrates and which, it seems to me, are so characteristic that they deserve to be mentioned here. The first is the extraordinary fidelity of Antiquity to type; the second is the difference between the ancient and modern way of considering and developing a story like this.

When Herodotus took this tale out of the irresponsible atmosphere of Fairy Land, he developed it on the lines of Greek tragedy. In fact, it is actually a parallel in prose to such dramas as the *Agamemnon* or the *Œdipus Tyrannus*. As such, the protagonist, the hero, is not Gyges; much less, is it the Queen; it is Candaules. The story, therefore, as Herodotus tells it, is not the Rise of Gyges, as it was in the old Fairy Tale, but the Fall of Candaules. Observe that in this respect the situation as it was in the old Fairy Tale is exactly reversed. On the other hand, the two are as nearly alike as possible in one important respect, viz., no particular blame, comparatively speaking, attaches to any of the characters. In the old folk tale this is due to the atmospheric effect of Fairy Land. Fairy Land is an utterly unmoral country. The adventurer, Gyges, and his accomplice, the Queen, outwit and destroy the brutal and foolish giant, Candaules; and the precious pair live happily ever after on the fruit of their combined labors. So, in Herodotus, the characters are all worthy of the situation. No one blames Candaules for a madness which the gods have sent upon him and which drives him to his doom as inexorably as it raises Gyges to his high estate. Even the Queen herself is only an instrument of Destiny. In other words, if Herodotus chose to

remould and rationalize the story on the lines of the Tragedy, it was because he believed that the old tradition depicting the characters as blameless actually reflected the truth. In this respect the tradition established by Herodotus lasted until the very end of antiquity. The three exceptions quoted on page 28 are more apparent than real. The first two were used by the speaker merely for the purpose of scoring a rhetorical point, and the third only as an illustration of what Barbey d'Aurevilly might have termed '*Le bonheur dans le crime.*' Even Justinus does not depart altogether from the Herodotean conception. His story of Candaules, Gyges, and the Queen is the story of a fool and two knaves. But the fool is such an utter fool, that one can hardly blame either him for his folly or the knaves who profit by it.

Modern versions all differ from Herodotus in one respect. The protagonist is always Gyges, never Candaules. The queen, too, is much more prominent than she was in antiquity.

The effects of this difference are more subtle and far-reaching than at first sight they appear to be. As Herodotus tells the story, the theme is the folly of Candaules and its punishment. Candaules is an illustration of that mysterious and relentless power of Ate, which is so characteristic of the Tragedy and of the Hellenic conception of sin and its consequences. Did Candaules suffer for his own sin? Or for that of some ancestor? Who can tell? *Χρὴν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς* is all that Herodotus ventures to say. It is quite certain that every Greek who read the story of Herodotus, took it for granted that the curse did not and could not die with Candaules. Though caught in the net of relentless circumstances and driven as it were to execute perforce the decree of Destiny, Gyges and the Queen cannot go scot free. The curse lives on, and the day will surely come when they or their descendants must pay the bill in full.

For Herodotus, however, all this was subsidiary, and so much of it could be taken for granted that a passing reference was all that was necessary. Nevertheless, it is just this subsidiary portion that appeals to the essentially modern reader, and to which the modern writer when telling the same story has always given the greatest prominence. As we tell the tale, the hero is always Gyges, never Candaules.

On the whole, these modern versions have been remarkably

successful; but the psychology of the story, if Gyges is the hero, is more difficult and more complicated, and the artistic simplicity of Herodotus is altogether impossible. Nor is this the only difficulty. The fact is that some of the best stories in the world's literature are also the shortest. In most cases a page or two apiece is quite enough. Yet short as they are, they are told with such skill, they so fire the imagination of the reader, that it is often long before we realize that they always suffer by being retold at greater length or in more detail. Silvio Pellico, George Boker, Stephen Phillips, Gabriele d'Annunzio, and how many others have told at length the story of Francesca and Paolo. Which one of them would have told it at all, if it had not been for the immortal version of Dante? And Dante tells it in scarcely a dozen lines. If we could have but one of all these versions, which would we choose, and why? The tragedy of Candaules, as Herodotus wrote it, belongs to the same class. The story covers less than two pages. But this, too, is after all unique and unapproachable.

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II.—WHY WERE THE JEWS BANISHED FROM ITALY IN 19 A. D.?

Historians have been aware that Tiberius, probably at the instance of Sejanus, had the Roman Senate banish the Jews and take other severe measures against them; but nobody has explained the action. It appears indeed to be regarded as a matter destined to remain a mystery for want of sufficient information.

The data are in fact scanty; a careful study of them may however extract the explanation which every student of history must desire. The affair is mentioned by a number of ancient writers, but practically we are dependent on the reports of Josephus and Tacitus.

We begin naturally with Josephus, whose account is more detailed. After relating the sad events which befell in Judea during the governorship of Pilate, he says (*Ant.* 18. 3. 4): "About the same time another dread calamity threw the Jews into confusion, and certain transactions not devoid of disgrace befell in the sanctuary of Isis at Rome. After I shall have recorded the bold attempt of the devotees of Isis, I will direct my story to what occurred among the Jews." He then recounts the outrage committed by one Decius Mundus, a Roman knight, upon Paulina, a Roman lady of high rank and exemplary character, who was the wife of Saturninus, a man of like rank and character. This Decius, consumed with a guilty passion for Paulina, had sought without success to seduce her by bribes to satisfy his desires. Failing in this he had resolved to terminate his life by starvation, but was dissuaded from his purpose by one of his freedwomen, who promised to procure for him the object of his passion. The terms agreed upon, the procuress, knowing that Paulina was a devotee of the Egyptian cult, conspired against her honor with certain priests of Isis, who reported to the great lady that they had had a revelation from the god Anubis bidding her come to the sanctuary to dine with him and enjoy his embraces. The devout Paulina, overjoyed at this signal proof of the divine favor, after obtaining the consent of her husband, repaired to the shrine, where she spent the night

in the arms of the supposed god. Taunted subsequently by Mundus with having granted him in the guise of Anubis what she had previously refused, she disclosed the horrid imposture to her husband, and he in turn reported it to Tiberius. The Emperor, after due inquiry, ordered the temple of Isis demolished, the cult-statue of the goddess cast into the Tiber, the priests and the procuress crucified, and the guilty knight banished.

This narrative concluded, Josephus resumes, "Such were the insolent deeds of the priests in the temple of Isis. Now I return to relate what befell the Jews at Rome at this time, as my account promised before." Thereupon he recounts the tale as follows. A worthless Jew, a fugitive from justice in Judea, conspiring with three equally worthless accomplices and giving out that he expounded the wisdom of the law of Moses, persuaded one Fulvia, a Roman lady of quality who was a proselyte to Judaism, to contribute purple and gold for the temple at Jerusalem; but the men diverted her gifts to their own uses. Tiberius, informed of the matter by Fulvia's husband, who likewise bore the name of Saturninus, ordered all the Jews banished from Rome; and the consuls drafted four thousand of the men and sent them to Sardinia, inflicting severe punishment on a large number who refused to serve in the army lest they be compelled in the service to violate the Jewish law. Thus the Jews were banished from Rome because of the wickedness of four men.

On reading the account of the Jewish historian one gains the impression of a great calamity visited upon a people for a trifling offense. If one doubts the sufficiency of his explanation,—and modern historians have of course doubted it,—one may perhaps conclude that the real cause of these severe measures was the deep-seated animosity against the Jews fostered by their reputation for exclusiveness and their assumption of superior righteousness: a parallel on a vast scale to the ostracism of Aristides. Nevertheless one instinctively questions whether Tiberius, who by Josephus's own account instituted an inquiry before taking the measures of state consequent on the affair of Paulina, could have acted in the case of the Jews without reasons which seemed to him good and sufficient, even if urged to drastic action by Sejanus and others who may have been swayed by prejudice. We shall presently see that the very narrative of Josephus suggests something more than appears upon its face.

We seek in vain for further light on the affair from other Jewish sources. Philo does indeed refer to the matter without giving any information. In *Flaccum*, c. 1, he merely mentions Sejanus as one who has persecuted the Jews: unfortunately the portion of this work which dealt with him has been lost—possibly destroyed of set purpose. In his *Legatio ad Gaium*, cc. 23-24, he does not specify the charges brought against the Jews, but lays stress on the circumstance that but few were implicated in the affair, thus confirming, though in terms less precise, the statement of Josephus that there were only four offenders.

Of Roman writers Suetonius also (*Tiberius*, cc. 35-36) yields nothing of importance because of the vagueness of his statement, which is moreover to all appearances based on the account of Tacitus. In fact Josephus alone mentions the charge against the Jews. Nevertheless it is not unimportant to consider the narrative of Tacitus. We have observed how closely Josephus links the cases of Paulina and Fulvia, though the connection between them indicated by the Jewish historian is merely that of coincidence in time and the parallel is apparently drawn with a view to contrast the insolent outrage of the Egyptians with the venial offense of the Jews.

The Roman historian, too, links the Egyptians and the Jews together in this matter, but quite contrary to what Josephus suggests clearly imputes the greater blame to the latter. Moreover he obviously considers the question as one of unholy rites, which he must have regarded as essentially the same, since he identifies them outright. Indeed, Tacitus not only connects the case of the Jews with that of the Egyptians so intimately as to suggest their practical identity, but he also brings both into the closest relation to the measures adopted by the Roman senate to restrain the licentiousness of women. "The same year," he says (*Annals*, 2. 85), "the licentiousness of women was curbed by severe decrees of the senate, and measures were taken to prevent the venal prostitution of any woman whose grandfather, father, or husband was a Roman knight; for Vistilia, the daughter of a praetor, had made public profession of prostitution before the aediles pursuant to an ancient custom which regarded the confession of shame a sufficient penalty for the unchaste. Her husband Titidius Labeo was brought to question, why in view of his wife's manifest guilt he had failed to enforce the

legal penalty. As he excused himself by pointing out that the term of sixty days allowed for the institution of legal proceedings had not yet elapsed, it was held to suffice if Vistilia were dealt with: she was accordingly banished to the isle of Seriphos. The question also of expelling the Egyptian and Jewish cults was laid before the senate; and it was decreed that four thousand freedmen tainted with that superstition, who were of the proper age, should be deported to Sardinia in order to put down brigandage there, with the thought that if they perished because of the severity of the climate it were small loss; the remainder should depart from Italy unless before a given date they renounced their unholy rites."

Since the total number of four thousand men drafted into the army, according to Tacitus, is precisely that mentioned by Josephus as the Jewish contingent, this passage makes it clear that the measures of the senate were directed chiefly—almost exclusively—against the Jews. The Egyptians here cut an unimportant figure. The action is brought into relation with the steps taken to curb the licentiousness of women, but is clearly distinguished from those concerned with venal prostitution, and connected with religious rites which the historian denounces as unholy. So far as Tacitus may have had in mind the story of Paulina, which we get from Josephus, it is clear that she was not guilty of venal prostitution; which agrees with his distinction. Her case was one of prostitution, indeed, but of a different sort, connected with unholy rites. In the eyes of Tacitus, and presumably in the eyes of the Roman authorities, the Jewish rites were identical with the Egyptian. Moreover, the account of Josephus makes it clear that the cases of Paulina and Fulvia in so far resembled that of Vistilia as they also were Roman ladies of equestrian or senatorial families, whose licentiousness the various measures were intended to curb.

Vistilia was guilty of venal prostitution. Paulina was guilty, however excusably, of religious prostitution. Regarding Fulvia we are left in doubt, because Tacitus, while treating the Egyptians and Jews as practically identical, does not specify the charges in either case, and Josephus, while linking them closely together, represents the offense of his co-religionists as extremely venial. Nevertheless the presumption is obviously very strong

that in the eyes of the Romans the affair of Fulvia was not unlike that of Paulina. Have we, then, no means of determining the charges preferred against the Jews and accepted as established by the Roman authorities?

We have seen that Josephus represents the offense of the Jews as consisting in the misappropriation by certain Jewish impostors of gifts solicited from Fulvia with the understanding that they were to be sent to the temple at Jerusalem. It may possibly occur to someone that in accordance with the decrees of Augustus (Josephus, *Ant.*, 16. 6. 2-5) such conduct might be interpreted as sacrilege. This explanation would, however, be certainly at fault, because the decrees in question had in view the possible seizure of Jewish contributions by Greeks, individuals or states, and provided that the guilty should be delivered over to the Jews for punishment. To the Roman mind, we may add, such sacrilege—even granting that it would have been so accounted—practiced by a Jewish outlaw against the ‘unholy sanctities’ of the Jewish ‘superstition’ could scarcely have sufficed to justify the authorities in taking measures so drastic and embittered.

Now Josephus says that the contribution of Fulvia consisted of gold and purple for the temple at Jerusalem: to what use they were to be put, he does not say. Every student of Hebrew antiquities, however, must recognize at once that the gold and purple were intended for the hangings of the temple. This fact, as we shall see, when duly considered, affords the necessary clew; for if one examines the history of these hangings and notes their inevitable suggestions to the minds of Asiatic and European peoples of antiquity, the interpretation put upon the solicitation of such gifts is not difficult to comprehend.

The Priestly code represents the hangings of the temple as derived from those of the ‘tent of meeting’ constructed by direction of Jehovah for the housing of the ark of the covenant during the journeyings of Israel in the wilderness. Modern scholars are agreed, however, that the ‘tent of meeting’ is in fact nothing but a fictitious replica of the temple supposedly adapted to the nomadic life of the desert, though its construction is such that it could not have been used as the story represents. Nevertheless, before there was a temple proper there was in fact

a 'tent of meeting,' probably not unlike the sukkah¹ of the festivals that furnished the concrete basis out of which Hebrew legend reconstructed the mythical account of the Exodus. It might be shown, if one chose to avail oneself of the requisite space, that the tent of the hag was in earlier times the tent of *rendez-vous* or of assignation, in which the people at their festivals met by appointment the divinity or his representatives. Such tents of assignation are still in use in the pilgrimages of Islam at Mecca, and are known to have been constructed and afterwards burned on the 'tent-day' of the triduan festival of Isis at Tithorea in Phocis. The context of Pausanias, to whom we owe our information (10. 32. 14-18), suggests that the same was true of the rites of Isis held at Coptus in Egypt. The tent of meeting or assignation was often connected with the shrine of the god, most commonly on its roof, whence hierodules received the name 'prostitutes on the roof.' Whether at Rome, in the case of Paulina, the meeting occurred in the upper chamber or in some other, we do not learn from Josephus. Even now a sukkah may be attached to a synagogue, though its primitive use is doubtless forgotten. However, the union of Paulina with Anubis in the chamber of the temple of Isis was unquestionably regarded by her as a rite of initiation of a certain degree. In fact, as I hope to show on another occasion, initiation was in ancient times always in form either a nuptial or a prenuptial rite, in which the divinity might be represented by a human substitute. Hence there cannot have been anything irregular about the case of Paulina except the intrusion of an unauthorized representative of the god in the person of Mundus, who procured the privilege by bribery. So much for the 'tents' or hangings of the temple.

As may be shown by numerous instances from various lands, the weaving of these tents or hangings fell to the female hierodules, who were sometimes entrusted to the safe-keeping of male hierodules or eunuchs. It will suffice here to cite an example from the Old Testament, which shows that the practice was not

¹The 'tent (אֹהֶל) of meeting' did not differ essentially from the sukkah, as is shown by Hosea 12, 9. The 'tent' was conceived as an upper chamber resting upon the house of Jehovah (Exodus 26, 7); cp. the temple of Bel, Herod. 1. 181.

unknown in Israel. Among the reforms of King Josiah it is recorded (ii. Kings 23, 7) that "he brake down the houses (tents) of the sodomites, that were in the house of Jehovah, where the women wove hangings (tents) for the Asherah." These 'women' were unquestionably hierodules or temple prostitutes, entrusted to the safe-keeping of eunuchs.²

It will be urged by way of objection that whatever might have been true of ancient Israel, so long as the influence of the cults of the Baalim made itself felt, such conduct as is here supposed to have been imputed to the Jews in the case of Fulvia was unthinkable in Judaism at the beginning of the Christian era. Had not the reforms of King Josiah, and the Deuteronomic and Priestly codes intervened and effectively purged the temple at Jerusalem? It is not necessary for our argument to prove that the ancient practices actually were continued: it would equally well suffice if it were merely shown that they were familiar enough from other Semitic cults to lead the Roman authorities to interpret the advances of the Jews to Fulvia as solicitation to become a temple prostitute. But it is in fact a questionable assumption that the abuses against which the Prophets inveighed and the Law provided penalties were ever wholly done away before the destruction of the second temple; for even if the efforts at reform had succeeded, there were many circumstances that tended of necessity to re-introduce practices not consonant with the loftier ideals of the Jewish people. It may be questioned whether orthodox Judaism ever for long dominated the population of Palestine. Judaism was a church among many dissenters, not a few of whom were reckoned as its members. Since the enforced conversion of the Idumaeans in the time of John Hyrcanus there must have been large numbers of professed Jews who continued the ancient heathen practices within or without the temple at Jerusalem. Truly there were many called Jews who were not the chosen people of Jehovah.

² For the existence of hierodules in Israel see Stade, *Bibl. Theologie des Alt. Testaments* I, pp. 133 sq. He omits, however, the significant passage (Num. 31, 40) about the thirty-two virgins who fell to Jehovah from the spoil of the Midianites. They cannot have been regarded otherwise than as hierodules. The passage is, however, recognized as a very late addition to P. Hence the fact that hierodules in the service of Jehovah are here taken as a matter of course is perhaps the strongest evidence of the persistence of the institution in Judaism.

These are general considerations deserving of being duly weighed; but it is not necessary to rest the case here, as there is specific evidence of the greatest value. The non-canonical Christian gospels of the nativity supply testimony which cannot well be impugned on the ground of bad faith or prejudice. A quotation from the *Protevangelium of James* (cc. 10-11) will suffice to show that the practice of pre-exilic times was not thought to be impossible in the time of Augustus. "And there was held a council of the priests," we read, "saying, Let us make a veil for the temple of the Lord. And the priest said, Call me undefiled virgins of the tribe of David; and the servitors departed and sought, and they found seven virgins. And the priest bethought him of the child Mary, that she was of the tribe of David and undefiled unto the Lord, and the servitors went and brought her. And they led the virgins into the temple of the Lord and the priest said, Determine me by lot who shall weave the gold, and the white, and the byssus, and the silk, and the blue, and the scarlet, and the true purple. And the true purple and the scarlet fell to the lot of Mary, and she took it and went to her house.³ And at that time Zacharias was dumb, and Samuel served in his stead until Zacharias spake. And Mary took the scarlet and span it. And she took her pitcher and went out to fill it with water; ⁴ and lo, a voice, saying, Hail, thou that hast found favor, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women. And she looked round to right and left, wondering whence the voice came. And she went away trembling to her house, and rested the pitcher, and seated herself on her chair, taking the purple, and drew it out. And lo, an angel of the Lord stood before her

³The word is *olcos*, but it may well mean tent: cf. the *olcos* of the sodomites, ii. Kings 23, 7, the same word as is used for the 'hangings' of the Asherah. Gen. 27, 15 it means a tent (LXX. *olcos*). Pseudo-Matthew represents Mary and her five virgin companions as lodging in the 'house' of Joseph, whom the non-canonical gospels represent as a priest, chosen for this service by a device modelled on the procedure in the case of Aaron.

⁴Myth and legend know no insignificant details; whatever they relate is included because it has a meaning, though we may not be able in every instance to determine it. It is probable that the water was to serve for the bridal bath. Mary was to be the bride both of God and of Joseph.

saying, Fear not, Mary: for thou hast found favor before the Lord of All; and thou shalt conceive according to His word."

Can any one question that this account represents Mary as a hierodule, the bride of the Lord of All, meeting Him or His angel in her 'house' in the temple at Jerusalem? Observe that it was while she was there engaged in spinning the true purple for the veil of the temple that there was brought to her by a messenger of the Lord the beatific annunciation of the divine favor which was to make her indeed the virgin bride of the Lord of All and the mother of the Saviour. Whether or not such a thing actually occurred from time to time in the temple at Jerusalem, we need not pause at present to inquire. It requires no proof that devout Christians of Syria, many of whom must have been converted Jews, during the second century of the Christian era not only conceived it as possible, but founded their faith in part on the belief that in the case of Mary it was a literal fact.

One readily sees that the story of Paulina, as related by Josephus, and that of Fulvia, as we are thus enabled to reconstruct it, are quite as closely parallel as our analysis of the historical data would lead us to expect. The connection of Fulvia with the purple⁵ destined for the temple at Jerusalem suggests the character of the hopes which may well have been held out to her by the Jewish impostors. At all events there was abundant justification for the interpretation of their conduct if Tiberius regarded it as solicitation to turn temple prostitute.

If we take this view of the affair of Fulvia we have an adequate explanation of the data. The measures of the Roman authorities and the practical identification of the Egyptian and Jewish rites in the account of Tacitus become intelligible. There remains the cause for the persecution of the Jews alleged by Josephus. On the view here suggested the statement of the Jewish historian is indeed inadequate, as every thoughtful reader must have found it; but it gives at least a part of the truth. If Josephus did not tell the whole story, it may be that he was

⁵ Pseudo-Matthew, c. 9, enlarges on the significance of the purple. Because it falls to Mary her companions tauntingly call her the queen of the virgins; but an angel appears and declares that the purple is a prophecy, not a subject for taunting. The prophecy is fulfilled by the angel of the annunciation.

unwilling to relate details which must inevitably compromise his people; but it may be, also, that he honestly held that the sole offense actually proved against his guilty co-religionists was that of misappropriating the contributions solicited from Fulvia for the behoof of the temple. Be that as it may, the Roman authorities, interpreting and weighing the evidence, might with good reason have felt justified in regarding the cases of Paulina and Fulvia as at least in intention parallel, and might deem the Jews more obnoxious than the Egyptians because of their well known zeal in proselytizing the women of Rome.

W. A. HEIDEL.

III.—A PUN IN THE *RHETORIC* OF ARISTOTLE.

In the standard text of Roemer (1885) a troublesome passage in Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 3. 11. 1412a 33-1412b 3, reads thus:

τὰ δὲ παρὰ γράμμα ποιεῖ οὐχ ὁ λέγει λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὁ μεταστρέφει ὄνομα, ὅλον τὸ Θεοδώρου εἰς Νίκωνα τὸν καθαρχόν, 'θράττει σε.' προσποιεῖται γὰρ λέγειν τὸ 'θράττει σε' καὶ ἐξαπατᾷ· ἄλλο γὰρ λέγει. διὸ μαθόντι ἡδύ, ἐπεὶ εἰ μὴ ὑπολαμβάνει Θράκα εἶναι, οὐ δόξει ἀστεῖον εἶναι.

The paraphrase of this, and the note on it, in the Cope-Sandys edition of the *Rhetoric* (1877) run as follows:

"Pleasantries arising from changes of letters (plays on words) are produced, not by a mere enunciation of a word in its direct meaning, but by something (a change) which gives a different *turn* to it, (converts or twists it into a different sense); as that of Theodorus (of Byzantium, the rhetorician . . .) against Nicon the harper, *θράττει*: he pretends namely to say 'it confounds you' (you are confounded), and cheats; for he means something else: and therefore it is amusing only after one has become acquainted with the meaning (or circumstances); for if (the hearer) doesn't know that he is a Thracian, he will see no point in it at all."

'Victorius and Schrader have both missed the meaning of this pun. But in order to arrive at it, we must first remove from the text the first *σε* after *θράττει* which has been introduced from the second (where it is required) and spoils the pun. Nicon, it appears from the explanation, is, or is supposed to be, of foreign extraction; and not only that, but a Thracian, the most barbarous of all nations. The Thracian women were habitually slaves, in Athenian families: Aristophanes, *Thesm.* 279, 280, 284, 293; *Pac.* 1138; *Vesp.* 828. This person is addressed by Theodorus with the word *θράττει*, which means *apparently*, "You are confounded"; this appears from the interpretation that follows, (τὶ) *θράττει σε*, which is of course convertible in meaning with the passive *θράττει* (and it follows also that the first *σε* must be an error of the transcriber, for *θράττει σε* would be no interpretation of *θράττει σε*; nor in that form would there be any

pun). It *really* means, however, Θράττ' εἰ, "You are a Thracian maid-servant"—not only an out-and-out barbarian, but effeminate to boot, and a menial. Schrader's explanation is "Θράττη (sic) σε, hoc est, *Thracia mulier te, intellige peperit*"—at once impossible in respect of the Greek, and pointless. Victorious to much the same effect.'

Meineke would find in line 35 Θράττ' ἦσε. Cope, as we see, would delete σε in line 35. Welldon in his translation (1886) follows Cope. Jebb in his posthumously published translation (ed. by Sandys, 1909) reads θράττεσε in line 35, and θράττει σε in line 36, without making clear his conception of the joke; in his foot-note Sandys adds: 'Cobet suggested Θράττης εἰ; Susemihl Θράττιζει, "he is playing the Thracian" (the "other meaning," according to Jebb), or Θράττιζει σε, "it makes you play the Thracian."' On this showing, there is a presumption that the joke has not been caught; and an alteration of the text is probably demanded. My explanation has at least this merit, that it requires a slighter change (if any) of text than those hitherto put forward; for, if a change is to be made, I ask only that the final ε be replaced in both cases by υ, or at most that the final ε be in both cases deleted.

Cope's explanation of the word-play is doubtless correct so far as concerns the idea, 'You are a Thracian quean'—menial, effeminate, and of barbarous foreign extraction; this I shall hereafter refer to as Idea No. 2. But it may be less easy to accept his rendering of the other, primary aspect of the pun (Idea No. 1): 'You are confounded'—which hardly makes sense enough (unless, with Meineke, we suppose an occasion when musical instruments were sounding); whereas this and other illustrative jokes in Aristotle we should expect to be full of wit. Let us consider a few details of the note by Cope, of the passage, and of the context.

To begin with, the pleasantry is hardly one made by Theodorus the rhetorician at the expense of Nicon. If Aristotle has taken it from the *Rhetoric* of Theodorus, it is simply one recorded in that work; from 3. 11. 1412a 25-29 (καὶ ὃ λέγει Θεόδωρος, τὸ καινὰ λέγειν. γίγνεται δὲ ὅταν παράδοξον ᾖ, καὶ μὴ, ὥς ἐκεῖνος λέγει, πρὸς τὴν ἔμπροσθεν δόξαν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν τοῖς γελοίοις τὰ παραπικουημένα, ὅπερ δύναται καὶ τὰ παρὰ γράμμα σκώμματα· ἐξαπατᾷ γάρ.¹)

¹ In Jebb's translation (p. 173): 'The like is true of what Theodorus

we may infer that the jokes explained by Theodorus were to some extent drawn from the comic poets. How easy it is to go astray in the precise attribution of a joke found in Aristotle may be seen in Jebb's rendering of *Rhetoric* 3. 10. 1411a 18-21: 'Or, take the iambic line of Anaxandrides about the delay of his daughters to get married—

The bridals of my girls are overdue.'

The daughters (τῶν θυγατέρων) are the maidens (αἱ παρθέναι) of Anaxandrides only in the sense that they figured in a comedy by this poet; the mode of allusion in Aristotle points to an important episode in some familiar play.²

An intrusive *σε* (or any intrusive particle or letter) from the hand of a napping copyist would be more likely to appear as a faulty repetition in the second occurrence (line 36) of the expression *θράττει σε* than as a faulty anticipation in the first (line 35); having written both words once, the scribe might inadvertently repeat them both. But we need not imagine a scribal error either of anticipation or repetition, for, whatever the original reading, a repetition may be correct. Supposing for the moment that Cope has duly explained both sides of the pun, we have only to imagine a pause, or pauses (between the words), which would not be noted in the manuscript; so in the

calls "novelty" in style. This happens when the thing is a surprise, and, as he says, does not answer to our presentiment; like those words, formed by a change, which comic writers use. Jokes which depend on the change of a letter have this effect: they deceive.'

² Compare the more specific allusion in *Rhetoric* 3. 12. 1413b 25-6: *οἷον καὶ Φιλῆμων ὁ ὑποκριτὴς ἐποίησεν ἐν τῇ Ἀναξανδρίδου Γεροντομανίᾳ*. Following Kock, *Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta* 2. 138-9, I have changed the *γ* of both Cope and Roemer to a capital letter.

If the maidens referred to in the other passage (*ὁπρῆμαρ μοι τῶν γάμων αἱ παρθέναι*) were conceivably the daughters of Danaus, the *μοι* might indicate, not their father, but the Herald of King Aegyptus, as the speaker: 'The marriage-bonds of the (young) ladies, I think, have passed their date.' The theme of the *Suppliant Maidens*, treated by Aeschylus, became the subject of a comedy *Δαναίδες* by Aristophanes, as also of a comedy with the same title by Diphilus; see Kock 1.454; 2.548. Anaxandrides is said to have composed 65 comedies; if so, the titles of 25 are unknown; of these 25, a number must have dealt with mythological subjects (see Croiset, *Hist. Litt. grecque* 3. 606).

joke preceding this one: 'And as he stepped along, beneath his feet were—chilblains' (where the listener expects 'sandals'). In a modern book the joke as Cope understands it would be represented with the help of spaces and a dash: *Thratt ei—se*. As it happens, in the very next illustration after this—another word-play effected by a turn or twist in the pronunciation of a letter or two, Aristotle gives the form of words but once: καὶ τὸ βούλει αὐτὸν πέρσαι³; he trusts his reader to think of the two pronunciations at once—whatever they were, for, as Cope intimates, 'No satisfactory explanation has been given of this pun.'

However, Cope proceeds to solve it as hinging on the termination of βούλει (= βουλή); and this suggests that the turn of the pun we are examining may likewise be found in the termination of θραττεισε (to place the letters as they would appear in an early manuscript). The possibilities seem to be θραττ-ει-σε; θραττει-σε; θραττεις-ε. Assuming with Cope, Cobet, and Susemihl the possibility of a scribal error of some sort, and admitting the correctness of Cope's interpretation of Idea No. 2, Θράττ' εἰ ('You are a Thracian maid-servant'), can we find any other interpretation for Idea No. 1 than θράττει σε ('It confounds you'—'You are confounded')? Is θράττεις, or perhaps *θραττεις, a possibility?

In a tentative answer to this question, let us begin with the description of Nikon, whom Aristotle calls τὸν κιθαριδόν, 'the harper,' 'him of the cithara.' One might be tempted to connect him with the comic poet Nikon, author of a play called *Κιθαριδός* (cited by Athenaeus and Pollux); save that Meineke in a casual allusion to the subject of the joke (*Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* 3.575) makes no reference to the poet, and that Kock (*Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta*), following Meineke, includes the poet among the later writers of the New Comedy. May we not, however, associate Nikon the harper

³ This also seems to come to Aristotle through Theodorus the rhetorician, the καὶ τὸ being correlative with the αὐτὸν τὸ (Θεοδώρου).

Theodorus the actor is likewise mentioned by Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* (3. 2. 4); according to Plutarch (*De se laud.* 545 f.), he once told the comic actor Satyrus that it was easy enough to make an audience laugh, but to make them weep was the difficulty (I borrow the language of Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, 1907, p. 283). But in the present case, having cited the rhetorician, Aristotle would hardly turn to the actor without a specific identification.

with the stage in some capacity? At all events there should be a reason for the epithet applied to him by Aristotle, who commonly wastes no words—least of all in citations.

That Nicon may have been the subject of a witticism in the work of a comic poet or the like has already been suggested. I have lately gone through the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle marking the evidence hitherto noted by scholars, and collecting additional evidence, of the historical relation between rhetorical theory and the art of comedy—that relation which, as Rutherford shows (in *A Chapter in the History of Annotation*), becomes so pervasive in the scholiasts on Aristophanes. At this point in the text my eye was caught by the collocation of the words *κιθαριδόν* and *θράττει*, which sent me to Meineke and Kock, and to the *Plutus* and the *Frogs* of Aristophanes. Including the Nicon mentioned by Athenaeus and Pollux, Kock lists no fewer than nine comic poets,⁴ to each of whom is attributed a play entitled *Κιθαριδός*; in addition he lists a *Κιθαριστής* of Antiphanes, possibly identical with the *Κιθαριδός* of the same poet, a *Κιθαριστής* of Menander, and a *Κιθαρίστρια* of Anaxandrides (not to mention an *Ὀρφεύς* of Antiphanes). The fortunes of the harper and his instrument evidently were a stock theme in the Middle and New Comedy. It may be added that Anaxandrides has been accounted a favorite author with Aristotle; and that we may place the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle in the time of the Middle Comedy. But since Aristotle knew the *Rhetoric* of Theodorus (it was likewise known to Plato⁵) in an earlier as well as a later edition, the chances favor a belief that the joke on Nicon recorded by Theodorus, if derived from the comic stage, harks back to the days of the Old Comedy and of scurrilous gibes at particular individuals. Thus in the *Clouds* 970 ff. Aristophanes pays his respects to the *κιθαριδός* Phrynīs, and the ‘curst and crooked trills and roulades’ of his school (Starkie’s translation).

Of course the cithara (— harp or lyre) was itself constantly

⁴ Alexis, Anaxippus, Antiphanes, Apollodorus, Clearchus, Diphilus, Nicon, Sophilus, Theophilus. As for the Flute-player, male or female, Anaxilas, Antiphanes, and Philemon each composed an *Αόλητής*; Phoenicides an *Αόλητρίς*; Diodorus, Antiphanes, and Menander each an *Αόλητρίς*. The earliest play of the sort was Magnes’ *Βαββισιστάλ*.

⁵ See, for example, *Phaedrus* 286a.

employed in the performances of the Old Comedy. In the *Birds* of Aristophanes, says Haigh (*Attic Theatre*, 1907, p. 271), 'it is clear that the flute-player and the four harpists were disguised as birds, and wore masks of an appropriate kind.' Moreover, Aristophanes parodies the sound of the cithara in verbal form—which brings us to the heart of the present article, a consideration of the stem *θρατ(το)* or *θρετ(τα)* used in imitation of a man thrumming upon a stringed instrument.

In the *Plutus* 290, 296, Aristophanes twice employs the expression *θρεττανελὸ τὸν Κύκλωπα*. The scholiast tells us that the word *θρεττανελό* comes from Philoxenus—that is, from his dithyrambic pastoral poem on the loves of the Cyclops and Galatea; Aristotle (*Poetics*, chap. 7) gives us to understand that the work had the main characteristic of comedy. The word is thought to have been invented by Philoxenus to represent the wretched music of Polyphemus as he wooed the nymph with a twangling cithara, or with his voice in imitation of a cithara. A similar vocable, *θραττο*, is employed by Aristophanes in *Frogs* (Rogers' numbering) 1286, 88, 90, 92, 94, where Euripides is made to ridicule the rhythm and music of the Aeschylean choruses, and where τὸ φλαττοθραττοφλαττόθρατ, the entire expression occurring five times at brief intervals, is again imitative of a musician thrumming on a cithara or harp.

Although no instance of a verb like *θράττειν* with the meaning 'to thrum' or the like has come down to us (so far as I can discover) unless in the passage quoted from the *Rhetoric* (and possibly in the lines hereafter quoted from Mnesimachus), is there any reason why we should not suppose the word to have existed, at least in colloquial usage? * If we admit the possibility of such a verb in the joke on Nikon the harper, a far better pun emerges. Though I must ultimately leave the details of emendation to an expert in Greek textual criticism, let us suppose for the moment that we delete the final *ε*; we then have: *θράττεις*. Now let us read as the conditions of this kind of pleasantry demand. The listener knows Nikon to be a harper (and from Thrace); he expects *θράττεις*. But you pause before

* In order to explain *βοῶνται αὐτὸν πέρσαι*, Majoragijs, as noted by Cope, supposes that there was a verb *πέρσειν*, not elsewhere recorded. Cope rejects the hypothesis; but *θράττειν* would not be open to the same objections.

uttering the sigma: Θράττ' εἰ -s. 'You are a scullion from Thrace'; 'You thrum the harp.' The deletion of the final ε is a less violent textual change than that of Susemihl, less even than that of Cope. More conservative yet would be the substitution of υ for the terminal ε: Θράττ' εἰ σύ = θράττεις σύ. Meanwhile for those who cling to the traditional reading θράττει σε, a triple pun is among the possibilities: You thrum; you are a Thracian quean—you are stunned!

For my part, if it is possible, I prefer the *mot à double entente*. It is as if a bad comic poet who had been reading the good Mr. Barrie were to catch the poet Swinburne with his lyre, and to exclaim: 'Our Lady of Thrums!'

* * * *

I subjoin a few additional gleanings; and first, in order to be fair and open, the chief objection I have discovered to my interpretation of Idea No. 1, this objection being connected with the interpretation of a partly doubtful passage in a fragment from the Ἰπποτρόφος of Mnesimachus (Kock 2. 437-8, Frg. 4; cf. Meineke 3. 568-75). This fragment, preserved by Athenaeus (9.402 f), contains an overdrawn description of a banquet, with the preparations and activities of the household; the items of the list are arranged by fours or by pairs. Lines 56-7 read:

σεμναὶ δ' αὐλῶν ἀγαναὶ φωναί,
μολπά, κλαγγά, θράττει, πνέται.

I follow Kock as well as Meineke in rejecting a third verb νείται between θράττει and πνέται, but place a comma after μολπά, and another after κλαγγά. Meineke (3.574-5) comments: 'θράττει de turbulento mesicorum [sic] instrumentorum strepitu dictum. Cfr. Marinus in vita Proculi cap. 33: θράττεσθαι τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐκ τῶν θρήνων. Pertinet huc Theodori iocus de Nicone citharoedo, θράττει σε apud Aristot. Rhet. 3.11, quod ambigue dictum, obtundit aures tuas, et Thressa cecinit (Θράττ' ἦσε). Id enim voluisse suspicor Theodorum. Niconem Thracem fuisse annotavit Aristoteles. Quod sequitur νείται, apud Atticos constanter futuri habet significatum, nec dicitur nisi de rebus animatis. Itaque seclusi, utpote ex dittographia ortum sequentis πνέται, quod de tibiae flatu intellegendum.'

Perhaps Meineke would have rendered his position firmer by

quoting from the *Vita Procli* of Marinus more exactly: ὡς μηκέτι θράττεσθαι τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀπεμφαινόντων θρήνων; yet it seems like a far cry from a point of usage in Aristotle and in a poet of the Middle Comedy to an illustration from Byzantine usage of the fifth century A. D. in Marinus' biography of the Neo-Platonic philosopher. But, admitting a measure of justice in the illustration; even so, we may feel that the familiar verb θράττειν (= θράσσειν) might associate itself through onomatopoeia with the sound of rhythmical music, as of the harp, and in this association might take on so much of special color as to become virtually a separate word.⁷ If so, then in the passage from Mnesimachus we should read κλαγγά, the shrill sound of the flute, with πνέται, as indeed Meineke suggests, and μολπά, a song accompanied by some other kind of measured movement, with θράττει, this verb being here used intransitively. In fact, my view of the word derives support from the translation of Athenaeus by Yonge (2.636), who renders the lines:

And lovely sounds from tuneful flutes,
And song and din go through the house,
Of instruments both wind and stringed.

The word θράττει does not occur in the extant portions of Aristophanes. Of the other two occurrences of the form in the comic poets, one has experienced a fortuitous association with the comedy entitled *Θράτται* of Cratinus (see Meineke 2. 227). Is it mere chance that has brought the other into a passage from the *Δουλοδιδάσκαλος* of Pherecrates (Kock 1.155, Frg. 39) where a play has been found on κίθαρος, a fish, and the κιθάρα?—

- A. κίθαρος γεγενῆσθαι κάγοράζειν κίθαρος ὦν.
B. ἀγαθόν γ' ὃ κίθαρος καὶ πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνος πάνυ.
A. ἐκείνο θράττει μ', ὅτι λέγουσιν, ὃ ἡγαθή,
ἐνεστὶν ἐν κιθάρῳ τι κακόν.

Or (if we may now indulge in almost pure guesswork) is there a word-play on the fish κίθαρος and the fish θράτται? What then of the odd passage from the *Ἰχθύες* of Archippus (Kock 1.684, Frg. 27)?—

ἀποδοῦναι δ' ὅσα ἔχομεν ἀλλήλων, ἡμᾶς μὲν τὰς Θράττας καὶ τὴν

⁷ In the quotation from Marinus, θράττεσθαι alliterates with θρήνων.

Ἀθερίνην αὐλητρίδα καὶ Σηπίαν τὴν Θύρσον καὶ τοὺς Τριγλίαι καὶ Εὐκλείδην τὸν ἄρξαντα καὶ Ἀναγυροντόθεν τοὺς Κορακίωνας καὶ Κωβιοῦ τοῦ Σαλαμινίου τόκον καὶ Βάτραχον τὸν πάρεδρον τὸν ἐξ Ὀρεοῦ.

Here we have an indubitable pun on *θράττας* the fish and *Θράττας* the ladies of foreign extraction whose sons have an uncertain claim to Athenian citizenship. Sepia, the cuttle-fish, has the name of a courtesan. Atherine the flute-player is likewise a strange fish (see Athenaeus 7.285a; 300f)—a woman of the same general description. Is there any reason why the αὐλητρίς or flute-girl should be mentioned immediately after the *Θράτται*? Are these 'strange women' not only fish but harpers as well? The entire passage is full of puns and allusions, not all of them explained, not all of them savory; further study of it may throw light on one or two references to *Θράττα* in Aristophanes—for example, *Acharnians* 271-5.

Finally, is it conceivable that in the joke upon Nicon the *κιθαριδός* the word *θράττει* contains a play upon the word *θράττα* the fish? Besides meaning a harper, *κιθαριδός* at times has the same, or approximately the same signification as *κίθαρος* (=turbot).—But doubtless I should not seek too many reasons for disbelieving my earlier interpretation of the pleasantry.

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IV.—TACITUS AND TIBERIUS.

Among the many problems which for long have interested students of Tacitus' *Annals* not the least important has been the character of Tiberius. Undoubtedly Tacitus has presented an extremely unfavorable portrait of that emperor—a portrait, in the opinion of most scholars in recent years, not true to life. The opinion was formed through a more complete understanding of Tiberius' able rule of the Roman Empire. An immediate consequence of it has been very serious criticism of Tacitus' credibility. Critics have questioned his honesty of purpose, and have declared that the Tiberius of the *Annals* is a creation of Tacitus' own imagination. They have hardly stopped to consider the possibility of the existence, in the literature of the first century, of an opinion unfavorable to Tiberius, which Tacitus could have adopted. It is the purpose of this paper to demonstrate that an unfavorable opinion, whether a correct one or not, existed, and to show, by pointing to significant details of it, that Tacitus, though he made use of it, clearly did not create it.

Since 1900 there have appeared several studies, accessible in English, which in one way or another touch on the problem. Tarver, in his "Tiberius the Tyrant," has it that "Tacitus is a bitter pamphleteer of consummate ability; his affectation of impartiality is a well-considered pose, whose insincerity becomes manifest. . . . Tacitus was interested in proving that till the reigns of Nerva and Trajan there never had been a good emperor." With this point of view—I might almost say, starting with these premises—Tarver proceeds to clear Tiberius from most charges, incidentally finding it necessary to attack the character of the emperor's mother, Livia. In 1906 Boissier, in his interesting "Tacitus," put forward very sanely the proposition that Tacitus was following his sources in his characterization of Tiberius. His view has not won complete approval, possibly because he does not go to extremes in clearing the character of Tiberius.

A few years later Ferrero¹ in "Julia and Tiberius" endeavored

¹ *Characters and Events of Roman History*, 1909.

"to prove that the Tiberius of Tacitus and Suetonius is a fantastic personality. . . . invented by party hatred." He would have Tiberius "a living anachronism," a strict and stern moralist of somewhat the type of old Cato. He does not however particularly blame Tacitus for the misrepresentation of the righteous emperor. In 1912 "The Tacitean Tiberius," a study by T. S. Jerome, appeared.² So far as I know this is the latest study of the subject. It contends, to quote a review,³ "that the real explanation of the inconsistency between Tacitus' sweeping assertions on Tiberius and the facts as he records them is not that he had a bias against him, nor followed an established tradition, but that the *Annals* are written according to the rhetorician's method." Certainly Jerome has done a service in showing that Tacitus' comment is often somewhat at variance with the evidence he gives, usually in the direction of blackening Tiberius' character. But in doing this Jerome apparently takes from Tacitus all honest intent to give a true account.⁴

Any historical writing must in the very nature of things be colored by the character, the temperament, the prejudices, the purposes of the writer, no matter how impartial he may attempt to be. Tacitus attempted to write, or so he tells us, "*sine ira ac studio quorum causas procul habeo.*" But we know that he was

² *Classical Philology* (July, 1912), pp. 265-292.

³ *The Year's Work in Classical Studies* (1912), p. 112.

⁴ See pages 269, 276, 289. Jerome seems to be guilty of several errors of more or less importance to his theory. On p. 268 he says: "The contemporary evidence as to Tiberius is uniformly favorable." Of course nothing really hostile could be published during a reign; but the hostile evidence of Seneca (see below) is that of a contemporary. P. 283: "There is no hint of it (the eleven years' orgy on Capri) in any writer prior to Tacitus." This argument has little force since no historical work on the last years of Tiberius exists prior to Tacitus. But Suetonius independently of Tacitus gives material enough, as will be shown. P. 285: Jerome gives no adequate reason for referring the origin of the stories of Capri to the time of Tiberius' retirement to Rhodes, or for referring the poems quoted by Suetonius (Tiberius 69) to that period. P. 288: "The speech purports to be delivered in the emperor's presence, but he was not at Rome during this time." This is no error of Tacitus. An emperor was often present by a legal fiction. See Furneaux, *Annals* XVI 22, 2 and note; and III 57, 1 and note. On page 287 Jerome, oddly enough, seems to think that Tacitus actually quotes the speeches of Tiberius verbatim.

a member of the senatorial nobility, hating oppression of the senate while he recognized the necessity of the imperial form of government. We know that he was by nature pessimistic, for we find gloom and pessimism in all his historical works. We know finally the purpose of his writing, a pragmatic purpose, "ne virtutes sileantur, utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit."⁵ It is then natural that all these elements exist in Tacitus' picture of Tiberius.⁶ We shall see if they wholly make up that picture.

But Tacitus is accused of absolutely wilful disregard of the truth. In determining the truth of the charge only an examination of Tacitus' relation to his sources will be satisfactory; but an introductory statement on the conception of the value of truthfulness in historical composition entertained by the circle of Tacitus' friends, and apparently by Tacitus, will assist us in getting a correct point of view. The letters of the younger Pliny are our source.

Jerome would prove that the ancient historians, Tacitus in particular, held that the writing of history and the composition of speeches for the law courts could be treated by the same methods, and that even the disregard of the truth in making a telling point in a speech was justifiable in historical narration. This is hardly so. There was an idea that a good orator ought to make a good historian; but simply because of the orator's command of narrative style and expression. In the two kinds of composition it was recognized that there were great differences. Pliny felt this very strongly. He writes in one letter that such different treatment was necessary, that he could not consider preparing speeches for publication and writing history at the same time. In this letter he is not considering the question of truthfulness in historical composition.

But this subject he does take up elsewhere. In one letter⁷ he relates a conversation which he himself had heard. Cluvius

⁵ *Annals*, III 65.

⁶ I doubt that Tacitus' hatred of Domitian caused him to hate Tiberius, as is sometimes stated. The composition of the *Annals* only began some ten years after Domitian's death. It is of course quite possible that Tacitus may have been influenced in his understanding of Tiberius' reign by his knowledge of Domitian's reign of terror.

⁷ IX 19, 5.

Rufus, the historian, speaks to the old warrior Verginius: "You know, Verginius, what truthfulness is due to history: so if you read anything in my history which differs from what you might like, I ask you to pardon me." The quotation needs no comment. Pliny begins the well-known letter⁸ on the eruption of Vesuvius, with these words, addressed to Tacitus himself: "You request me to describe for you the circumstances attending the death of my uncle, so that you can with greater accuracy (*verius*) relate them for posterity." We are told in so many words that Tacitus wanted to give an accurate account. There is one other letter⁹ that has information to the point. Pliny writes directly and unabashedly to Tacitus requesting him to include an action of his in the history which he is composing. Pliny makes his plea in these words: "that you may believe it would be a great pleasure to me if you would honor my action by your genius and your testimony." After relating the occurrence he concludes: "These matters you will make better known, more honorable, greater: and yet I do not ask you to go beyond the limits of the actual facts. For history should not exceed the truth, and for honorable deeds the truth is enough."¹⁰ It seems clear enough then that for Pliny, Tacitus, and their circle, truth-telling was an essential in historical narration. And yet what does Pliny mean by the confident assertion that Tacitus "will make (his deeds) better known, more honorable, greater"? He means in part that their very inclusion in Tacitus' work will give them glory; but he means further that Tacitus will favorably emphasize them, without being untruthful. Tacitus is to take the photograph and touch it up; or he is to add his own colors to a clearly outlined drawing. This he doubtless did in all his historical work; but did he intentionally carry it so far in the case of Tiberius that the original could not recognize his own likeness?

We must now turn to the works which mention Tiberius—most of them written before the time of Tacitus. Strabo, in his geography which was finished during the first years of Tiberius, calls attention favorably to the assistance given Sardis and other

⁸ VI 16.

⁹ VII 33.

¹⁰ The letter of Cicero to Lucceius (*Ad Familiares*, V 12) is often compared. Cicero, however, asks outright that his friend transgress the laws of history in his favor.

cities after a dreadful earthquake.¹¹ The brief Roman History of Velleius Paterculus, published in 30 A. D., is highly eulogistic, but gives so little detail that we can hardly draw information from it. A favorable opinion may mean nothing in the case of a book published in Rome, and dealing with the life of the ruling emperor. The book does not include the last years of Tiberius, which are regularly represented as the worst. Valerius Maximus, whose work was produced about 31 A. D., also lauds the emperor. To him Tiberius is "salutaris princeps," a splendid ruler and punisher of crime.¹² Philo says of Tiberius "that he was grave and sincere and only cared for serious things."¹³ We find no other references favorable to Tiberius in the works of his contemporaries.

In the works of the philosopher Seneca there are scattered references to Tiberius of great importance. In the *De Beneficiis*,¹⁴ written about 25 years after Tiberius' death, there is a paragraph so significant that it deserves full quotation: "Under Tiberius Cæsar there was a repeated and almost nation-wide madness in bringing accusations, which bore more heavily upon the peaceful citizens than any civil war. The talk of drunken men was caught up (for the purpose of bringing accusation against them), the innocent intentions of men telling a joke. There was no safety; every occasion for practising cruelty was used. And no more was the news of the outcome of the trial of the accused awaited since it was always one and the same." In the *Consolatio ad Marciam*,¹⁵ written less than fifteen years after Tiberius, Seneca states: "Recall that time most bitter to you when Sejanus gave the life of your father as a kind of present to his client." And again he quotes Marcia's father as declaring that the only escape from the slavery of being among the satellites of Sejanus was death. He declares that Cordus was a true

¹¹ XIII 4, 8 (p. 627); cf. XII 8, 18 (p. 579). Tacitus also gives Tiberius credit for helping the cities: *Annals*, II 47.

¹² I preface; VIII 13. For this reference and that to Strabo I am indebted to Andriessen, *De fide et auctoritate etc.*, Hagae, 1883.

¹³ See Boissier, *Tacitus*, English edition, p. 101. I have not had access to Philo's works directly. [Philo's judgment of Tiberius, so far as it goes, is favorable enough: *Leg. ad Gaium*, §§ 8 ff., 119, 141 f., 159 ff., 167, 298 ff. But Philo is contrasting Caligula's persecution of the Jews with Tiberius' treatment of them.—C. W. E. M.]

¹⁴ III 26.

¹⁵ XXII 4; I 2.

Roman in character and action when the necks of all were bowed beneath the yoke of Sejanus. Cordus will be remembered; "but the crimes of those butchers, by which alone they gained a record, will soon be forgotten."¹⁶ Finally in an epigram he describes the period as one "quo magna pietas erat, nihil impie facere."¹⁷ These few statements give a picture of terrible cruelty that is not surpassed in the Annals. On the basis of these statements alone it can be confidently asserted that Tacitus did not invent the cruel Tiberius.

Seneca offers still more evidence. He relates an incident of an old friend coming to Tiberius when emperor, and desiring to talk over old times.¹⁸ Tiberius "treated his old friend as a busy-body," says Seneca, and the philosopher concludes with the sweeping statement: "He rejected the acquaintance of all friends and companions." It will not be possible to find Tacitus going so far in picturing the aloofness of Tiberius. Tiberius had, when requested, helped an ex-prætor pay his debts; but, in the opinion of Seneca, had done it in such a rude way, "with the addition of insulting advice," that the man could not be expected to feel grateful.¹⁹ Seneca, like Tacitus, gives us a picture of the stoical self-control of Tiberius in public: "Tiberius delivered the funeral oration before the rostrum on the death of his own son, and stood in the public view . . . and though the Roman people wept, he held his features unmoved."²⁰ In the flattering introduction of the *De Clementia*,²¹ addressed to Nero about 56 A. D., we read: "But you have placed a heavy burden upon yourself. No one any longer speaks of the Divine Augustus, nor of the early periods of Tiberius Cæsar: no one will seek beyond you for a model because he wishes to imitate you." Here is at least a distinct suggestion of the division of Tiberius' reign into periods, which we find so elaborately worked out in Tacitus. We have Seneca's Tiberius, an unfeeling, unfriendly, cruel ruler, particularly so in the latter part of his reign. We have, too, the bloodthirsty Sejanus. The impressions which Seneca give us are in all probability not those formed by his own reading, but

¹⁶ Op. cit. I 3-4.

¹⁷ De Beneficiis, V 25, 2.

²⁰ Consolatio ad Marciam, XV 2.

¹⁸ Op. cit. I 2.

¹⁹ Op. cit. II 7.

²¹ I 1.

by his own experiences and associations. He was probably about forty years old at the death of Tiberius, and belonged to the circles of the equestrian and senatorial nobility. It is almost certain that he gives us the view of Tiberius that prevailed in those circles.

Pliny, the Elder, comments in his *Natural History* on the character of Tiberius: "*tristissimum, ut constat, hominum.*"²² It was generally established in Pliny's time, it will be noted, that Tiberius was very morose.²³ The same characteristic was later applied by Tacitus, and at least once by the use of a word from the same root.²⁴

In what Josephus has to relate about Tiberius we get for the first time information based undoubtedly on earlier literary sources, and not on personal knowledge. In the *Jewish Antiquities*, published about 94 A. D., he emphasizes the extravagant rejoicing at Rome on the death of Tiberius: "For this Tiberius had brought dreadful misery on the best families of the Romans . . . he had indulged in hatred against men, without reason, for he was by nature fierce . . . and made death the penalty for the slightest offenses."²⁵ In the same chapter Josephus illustrates Tiberius' great interest in astrology, which is also emphasized in Tacitus.²⁶ In another section Tiberius is represented as "dilatatory, if ever a king or tyrant was so." He delayed in receiving ambassadors; he kept men in prison for long periods without trial, "that by being troubled with present calamity (the guilty) may undergo greater misery"; he seldom appointed new governors.²⁷ This is a characteristic also to be found in Tacitus.²⁸ In the same chapter Josephus gives a sketch of Germanicus: his character was generally excellent; he was quite affable; he was esteemed by the senate, the people, and by all nations subject to Rome; there was genuine sorrow at his death.²⁹ Here is a Germanicus ready to hand as a foil for the

²² XXVIII 23. Cf. XXXV 28: "Tiberius Caesar, *minime comis imperator.*"

²³ Cf. Pliny, *Letters*, I 10, 7, for a similar use of the term.

²⁴ *Annals*, I 76.

²⁵ *Ant.* XVIII 6, 10.

²⁶ *Annals*, VI 21. Tacitus and Josephus both have Tiberius' prophecy of Galba's reign, though in slightly different form.

²⁷ *Ant.* XVIII 6, 5.

²⁸ E. g. *Annals*, I 80.

²⁹ *Ant.* XVIII 6, 8.

tyrant emperor. There is no excuse for accusing Tacitus of heightening the contrast.

Suetonius' *Tiberius* is the earliest work, excluding the *Annals*, which aims to present a complete study of Tiberius. Curiously enough in the main and in detail the same sort of a Tiberius is described. Of course it may be argued that Suetonius, writing a little later than Tacitus, had the work of Tacitus before him. This is probably true; but it is also true that Suetonius, completing his work so soon after that of Tacitus, could not have thought of following only this new history to the exclusion of all earlier works. And it is also true that in many of the details, in many of the illustrations and incidents, Suetonius was clearly independent of Tacitus. This is to be expected from the well-known scissors and paste method of Suetonius in collecting and arranging material.

The evidence of Suetonius about the cruelty of Tiberius is not necessary, after what has already been given, to prove that Tacitus did not invent the characteristic. It is, however, of the greatest importance that in connection with some of the alleged instances there is given an unfavorable interpretation of the act or remark of the emperor, just in the manner of Tacitus. A remarkable instance is the following: "But when he learned that vows had been made also for the safety (of the young Nero and Drusus) he declared in the senate that such honors ought not to be given except to men of age and experience. And by that statement, disclosing the secret thought of his heart, he exposed them to accusation . . . and (finally) put them to death."⁸⁰ What we have here is a wrong interpretation of a perfectly reasonable remark of the emperor. Suetonius no doubt found the statement in his source. Tacitus, giving the same incident, does not give the unfavorable interpretation: "Tiberius, at no time kind to the house of Germanicus, at this time was quite impatient that the young men were put on a par with him in his old age . . . in a speech in the senate he advised that for the future no one should stimulate to haughtiness the impressionable minds of young men by premature honors."⁸¹ Another instance is found in Suetonius, but not in Tacitus: "An ex-consul has written in his annals that, at a

⁸⁰ *Tiberius*, 54.

⁸¹ *Annals*, IV 17.

well-attended banquet at which he was himself present, he (Tiberius) was asked . . . why Paconius accused of treason lived so long . . . a few days later he wrote to the senate to decide on the punishment of Paconius as soon as possible."²² The incident is given in a section of the life which deals with Tiberius' cruelty. It shows that there was at least one writer of history, a contemporary of Tiberius, who would not hesitate to use insufficient evidence to prove Tiberius cruel. Other illustrations are to be had;²³ but here is enough to indicate that Tacitus did not need to invent, for he could find in earlier historians, not only direct accusations of cruelty, but wrong interpretations of acts possibly quite innocent.

Tacitus represents Tiberius as a hypocrite, a man who continually hid his real thoughts, while pretending to think something quite different. He represents Tiberius as practising greater and greater cruelty and indulging in vice more and more as the restraining influence of various persons was removed by death. With this conception, at the end of book VI he has divided the reign of Tiberius into five sections, each succeeding section worse than the one before it. This plan, Tacitean though it seems, is not original with Tacitus. Suetonius also speaks of "vices long concealed with difficulty,"²⁴ of the "crafty hesitation and ambiguous replies"²⁵ of Tiberius. He alone represents Tiberius at the beginning of his reign feigning poor health so that Germanicus, his natural successor, would not revolt, but await his early death.²⁶ "(His cruel nature) was evident even at the beginning of his rule when he still was trying to gain the good will of men by a pretence of moderation."²⁷ Suetonius also contains evidence of a dividing of Tiberius' reign into clearly marked periods. There are four of them: one to the death of Germanicus; the second to the retirement to Capri; the third to the death of Sejanus; the fourth to Tiberius' death.²⁸ The fact that Suetonius' arrangement agrees only in part with that of Tacitus proves his inde-

²² Tiberius, 61, 6.

²³ Op. cit. 57, 2; 61, 5; both independent of Tacitus.

²⁴ Op. cit. 42, 1.

²⁵ Op. cit. 24, 1.

²⁶ Op. cit. 25, 3.

²⁷ Op. cit. 57, 1.

²⁸ See Caligula 6, 2; Tiberius 42, 1; 61, 1; 62, 1. Dio Cassius, LVII 19, also ends a first period at the death of Germanicus.

pendence. There is an exact agreement in the conception of progressive degeneration as restraints were removed. For example Tacitus asserts: "(Tiberius was) secretive and crafty with a pretence of virtue as long as Germanicus and Drusus were alive."³⁹ The corresponding remark in Suetonius is: "The awfulness of the following periods increased the reputation (of Germanicus) and the longing for him after his death, a time when everyone, not without reason, thought that Tiberius' cruel character had been restrained by respect for Germanicus and by fear of him, though it soon after broke through all restraint." Suetonius also gives full weight to the charges of sensuality. In fact, short as the biography is, he gives more space to them than does Tacitus in the *Annals*. And he is independent of Tacitus in much, perhaps all, of it.⁴⁰

Suetonius devotes one section of the biography to the good conduct of Tiberius, in the early part of his reign.⁴¹ Dio Cassius has a similar section not dependent on Suetonius, but very possibly from a common source.⁴² Dio confines this good conduct to the first period, which ended with the death of Germanicus. He concludes his account with the significant explanation that Tiberius was either naturally good at first and only later degenerated, or that he was shamming from the beginning.⁴³ Suetonius tacitly agrees with this indefinite explanation. Tacitus, as we know, takes the position that Tiberius from the very first was shamming, and he may have influenced Dio and Suetonius. But we remember that Seneca referred to the good beginning of Tiberius' reign. Apparently writers were at one in believing in a Tiberius who became more cruel and base as time went on, though he was good at the beginning; but they differed in explaining the good beginning.

³⁹ Suetonius and Tacitus both say that Tiberius did not express his thoughts clearly in his speeches. Tacitus, *Annals*, I 11, is inclined to attribute this habit generally to the duplicity of Tiberius. Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 70, 1, says that it was due to affectation and pedantry in his style.

⁴⁰ *Tiberius*, 42-45; *Annals*, VI 1.

⁴¹ *Tiberius*, 26-32.

⁴² LVII 7-13. Chapter 7 and Suetonius' chapter 26 begin very much alike.

⁴³ It has not seemed necessary to use other information from Dio. Suetonius is complete enough for our purpose.



Our study apparently indicates that Tacitus did not create the Tiberius whom he describes, and did not himself invent his various characteristics. Of course, with the character already clearly outlined for him, it is probably true that he did put his own interpretation on some of Tiberius' actions.⁴⁴ But this is a matter merely of details and could not change the conception of Tiberius already existing. How far Tacitus may have carried this practice can never be known unless the work of some historian of the first century is discovered. It should be noted in this connection that Tacitus sometimes expresses a view more favorable to Tiberius than does his source.⁴⁵

Tacitus may properly be accused of failing to see, or even of not wanting to see—perhaps for the sake of the unity of his conception of Tiberius—the discrepancies between acts and the interpretations put on them, and between proper, sane interpretation and exaggeration. This is a bad fault. But we may not censure Tacitus for not presenting a Tiberius such as that of Tarver. Tacitus, as he says himself⁴⁶ and as was the usual practice, followed the consensus of opinion among previous writers, however much he may have used primary sources and official documents. We have seen that that consensus was hostile to Tiberius.

It is not the purpose of the present study to determine how far the general view of Tiberius was a true one; but it may not be without interest to suggest that perhaps there was a reason for, or at least an excuse for, the unfavorable opinion. Suetonius speaks of Tiberius' stiff bearing, the set, hard look on his face, the fact that he talked but rarely even with his friends, and he tells us that Augustus apologized for these defects to the senate and the people. Augustus himself did not like the harshness of his character.⁴⁷ This evident reserve, this lack of affability, would certainly make him unpopular. Besides this he gave very few and simple public entertainments, as compared with Augustus, and almost no doles of money.⁴⁸ He did not attend public festivities regularly.⁴⁹ Such conduct would win small favor with the pleasure-loving populace of Rome. To

⁴⁴ See Fabia, *Les Sources de Tacite*, p. 446, section 2.

⁴⁵ *Annals*, I 76; IV 10.

⁴⁶ *Op. cit.* XIII 20.

⁴⁷ *Tiberius*, 68, 3-4; 21, 2; 51, 1.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.* 46-48.

⁴⁹ *Annals*, I 76.

this we must add the effect on the people of the stay at Capri during the last eleven years of his reign. During that time he never returned to Rome and seldom was on the mainland. All sorts of rumors naturally arose to explain this most unusual course. One of the best-favored explanations was that Tiberius wanted to indulge without any restraint in a life of sensuality. Whether there was any basis for the rumor or not is uncertain. But the charge of cruelty has basis enough in the acts of the final period. Sejanus, the regent at Rome, was cruel, and after his overthrow Tiberius was, to put it mildly, severe.⁵⁰ It resulted naturally enough that acts of the last years of Tiberius fixed for ever his reputation for cruelty. On his death the senate did not deify him, although it had deified both Julius Caesar and Augustus. It annulled his will at the request of Caligula, "on the ground that . . . he had not been of sound mind," and at the beginning of the following year it failed to confirm his acts.⁵¹

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⁵⁰ The prosecutions of Cremutius Cordus on account of opinions expressed in his history, and of Mamercus Scaurus for lines in a tragedy are certain. See the references to Seneca above; also Seneca, *Suasoriae*, II 22, and *Praef. Controv. Lib. X* 5; *Annals*, VI 29.

⁵¹ Dio, *LIX* 1; *LIX* 9.

V.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO PĀLI LEXICOGRAPHY.

PART I.

Pāli *ana-matagga* } 'having no conceivable beginning'
 Prākṛit *ana-vayagga* }
 Sanskrit *an-avarāgra* 'having no starting-point in the past'

It is no exaggeration to say that *ana-matagga*, the stock epithet of the *saṃsāra*, is the most extraordinary and highly significant word in the Pāli language. Apparently, few scholars who have dealt with the word seem to have read what is perhaps the most remarkable chapter of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*—the *Anamatagga Saṃyutta*; and the few who did read it failed to grasp the fundamental thought that runs through the chapter from the first word to the last,—the thought, namely, of the beginningless character of the round of existences. It is the purpose of this paper to settle, if possible, the etymology and meaning of this most remarkable word.

1. PREVIOUS ETYMOLOGIES OF *anamatagga*.

James D'Alwis (*Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 21) divides the word *an* + *amata* + *agga*, 'which does not end in *Nibbāna*.' Childers (*Pāli Dictionary*, p. 31) accepts this explanation, but in his *Errata* (ib. p. 621) rejects it and confesses that he is at a loss to explain the composition and meaning of the word. Weber (*Indische Streifen*, vol. iii, p. 150) says: '*anamatagge saṃsāre möchte Ref. aus anāmatagge (āmṛita = mṛita) gekürzt ansehen: "ohne Ende und Anfang."*' Trenckner (*Pāli Miscellany*, p. 64) divides the word *an* + *a* + *mata* + *agga*, 'whose end is not known.' Jacobi (*Wörterbuch zu Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāshṭrī*, p. 89) says of the Prākṛit form: '*aṇavayagga* (Pāli *anamatagga*, von $\sqrt{\text{nam}}$, "mit nicht gebogener Spitze, was immer gradaus läuft"), "endlos."' Pischel at first (*Bezenberger's Beiträge*, iii. 1879, p. 245) was inclined to explain the word as had D'Alwis and Childers (see above), but afterwards changed his mind and adopted a modification of Jacobi's theory. In his *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*,

§ 251, p. 175, he says: 'va ist für ma eingetreten in anavadagga anavayagga = Pāli anamatagga = anamadāgra zu √nam, die auch . . . va hat. . . . Die richtige Erklärung dieses terminus technicus, der ein Beiwort des saṃsāra ist, ist wohl "dessen Anfang sich nicht wegbeugt," = "sich nicht verändert" = "endlos." Die √nam hat richtig erkannt Jacobi, dessen sonstige Erklärung aber falsch ist. Die Scholiasten erklären das Wort mit ananta, aparyanta, aparyavasāna, und fassen meist avadagga avayagga als Deçiwort im Sinne von "Ende," zerlegen also das Wort in an + avadagga.' [For glosses on agga by Buddhaghosa, whose opinion on such matters is worth more than those of ordinary scholiasts, see the next paragraph.] Anderson (Glossary to Pāli Reader, p. 9) comments at some length on previous etymologies of the word and finally accepts the interpretation offered by Jacobi and Pischel: 'endless.' Recent translators, as for example Winternitz in A. Bertholet's *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*, pp. 223 f., adopt a tour de force and render the word *without beginning and end, or endless*.

2. THE TRUE ETYMOLOGY AND MEANING OF *anamatagga*.

The proper division of the word, in my opinion, is an-a- + mata + agga. The first element is the reinforced, emphatic negative prefix an-a-, 'not.' For an exhaustive treatment of this prefix, see my paper on The Compound Negative Prefix an-a- in Greek and Indic, *American Journal of Philology*, XXXIX, pp. 299 ff. The second element is the past passive participle (it might better be called a gerundive) of the root man, 'think,' ma-ta, 'thinkable,' 'knowable,' 'conceivable.' The suffix -ta of ma-ta here very clearly conveys the idea of possibility, as is often the case with this suffix in Indo-Germanic. See Brugmann's *Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages*, vol. ii, § 79, p. 220; *Vergleichende Grammatik*, II. 1², § 298, p. 401, § 300, pp. 402 ff.; *Griechische Grammatik*³, § 216, 1 a, pp. 200 f. The third element is the noun agga (Sanskrit agra), 'beginning.' It cannot be stated too emphatically that agga means 'beginning'; that it does not and cannot possibly mean 'end.' See Böhrtlingk-Roth, sub voce agra. Buddhaghosa, at the beginning of his comment on the *Etadagga Vagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (see *Aṅguttara Commentary*, Colombo, Ceylon, 1904, p. 76), glosses agga as meaning ādi =

‘beginning,’ koṭi = ‘starting-point,’ seṭṭha = ‘foremost.’ Significantly enough, he never adduces anta or pariyosāna, ‘end.’

The word anamatagga means: *having no known, knowable, thinkable, conceivable beginning; whose beginning cannot possibly be known or imagined; whose beginning is beyond the power of thought to conceive.*

That the etymology proposed is correct, and that the word must therefore mean, not *without beginning or end or endless*, but *having no conceivable beginning*, is clear, first from the discussion of the saṃsāra in its aspect as anamatagga in the Anamatagga Saṃyutta, and secondly from the context of the word in many passages in the Legends of the Saints.

3. SYNOPSIS OF THE ANAMATAGGA SAṂYUTTA.

In the Anamatagga Saṃyutta (Saṃyutta Nikāya, xv: vol. ii, pp. 178-193) the Buddha is represented as addressing the monks as follows:

“Without conceivable beginning is this Round of Existences. Unknown is a starting-point in the past of beings impeded by the Impediment of Ignorance, fettered by the Fetter of Craving, hasting, hurrying, from birth to birth.¹ The ancestors of a man are more numerous than all the blades of grass and sticks and branches and leaves in India; more numerous than all the particles of dust that compose the earth. The tears shed, the mother’s milk drunk by a man in his previous states of existence, are more abundant than all the water contained in the four great oceans.

“How long is a cycle of time?—Longer than would be required for a range of mountains a league in length, a league in breadth, a league in height, of solid rock, without a cleft, without a crack, to waste and wear away, were it to be wiped once in a century with a silken cloth; longer than would be required for a heap of mustard-seed of the same dimensions to disappear, were but a single seed to be removed once in a century. Of

¹ Anamataggo ‘yaṃ bhikkhave saṃsāro, pubbā koṭi na paññāyati avijjānivarāṇānaṃ sattānaṃ taṇhāsāmyojanānaṃ sandhāvataṃ saṃsārataṃ. Similar is the Buddhistic Sanskrit version (Divyāvadāna, 19715-18): Anavarāgro bhikṣavaḥ saṃsāro ‘vidyānivarāṇānaṃ sattvānāṃ tṛṣṇāsāmyojanānaṃ tṛṣṇārgalabaddhānāṃ dīrgham adhvānaṃ sandhāvataṃ saṃsārataṃ pūrvā koṭir na prajñāyate duḥkhasya.

cycles of time as long as this, there have elapsed many hundreds of cycles, many thousands of cycles, many hundreds of thousands of cycles. Indeed, it is impossible to count them in terms of cycles or hundreds of cycles or thousands of cycles or hundreds of thousands of cycles. For example, were each of four centenarians to call to mind a hundred thousand cycles of time every day in his life, all four would die or ever they could count them all.

"The cycles of time that have elapsed are more numerous than all the sands that lie between the source and the mouth of the Ganges. The bones left by a single individual in his passage from birth to birth during a single cycle of time would form a pile so huge that were all the mountains of Vepulla-range to be gathered up and piled in a heap, that heap of mountains would appear as naught beside it. The head of every man has been cut off so many times in his previous states of existence, either as a human being or as an animal, as to cause him to shed blood more abundant than all the water contained in the four great oceans.

"For so long a time as this," concludes the Buddha, "you have endured suffering, you have endured agony, you have endured calamity. In view of this, you have every reason to feel disgust and aversion for all existing things and to free yourselves from them."²

4. ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE LEGENDS OF THE SAINTS.

The Legends of the Saints contain much to the same effect. For example, in *Petavatthu* ii. 13, stanza 12, the Buddha thus addresses *Ubbarī*, weeping for her dead husband: "You have been a woman, you have been a man, you have been a beast. Consider! there is no limit to the number of your past lives" (*atitānaṃ pariyanto na dissati*). There are several fine specimens in the *Dhammapada* Commentary.³ In i. 1 *Cakkhupāla* says to himself: "In the round of existences without conceivable beginning, there is no counting the number of times you

² Incidentally it may be said that this *Anamatagga* *Saṃyutta* is the gospel of Buddhism in a nutshell.

³ For a complete translation of these legends, see my *Buddhist Legends from the Dhammapada Commentary*, Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 28-30.

have been blind" (*anamataggasmiṃ saṃsāravatṭe tava anak-khikakālassa gaṇanā n'atthi*). In ii. 1. 6, end, *Sāmāvatī*, just before she is burned to death, admonishes her attendants as follows: "Even with the [infinite] knowledge of a Buddha, it would be no easy matter to count the number of times our bodies have thus been burned, as we have passed from birth to birth in the round of existences without conceivable beginning" (*anamatagge saṃsāre*).

In viii. 12 the Buddha thus comforts the bereaved *Paṭācārā*: "In weeping over the death of sons and others dear to you in this round of existences, you have shed tears more abundant than all the water contained in the four great oceans." The story goes on to say that as the Buddha thus discoursed on the Beginningless (*evaṃ Satthari anamataggapariyāyaṃ kathente*), her grief was assuaged. In xiii. 4 the Buddha thus addresses *Abhaya*, sorrowing over the sudden death of his nautch-girl: "There is no measuring the tears you have thus shed over the death of this girl in the round of existences without conceivable beginning." In xiii. 7 the Buddha thus comforts a weaver who has lost his daughter: "Grieve not, for in the round of existences without conceivable beginning you have thus shed over the death of your daughter tears more abundant than all the water contained in the four great oceans."

5. ETYMOLOGY AND MEANING OF PRĀKRIT *anavayagga*.

Prākṛit *anavayagga* is the exact equivalent of Pāli *anamatagga*, sound for sound, and conveys precisely the same idea. It occurs in one of Jacobi's selections from the Prākṛit: ⁴ *Abhii . . . apāiyaṃ anavayaggaṃ saṃsārakantāraṃ anupariyaṭṭissai*. Meyer translates the passage as follows: ⁵ 'Abhii . . . will stray to and fro in the beginningless, endless tanglewood of the *saṃsāra*.' But *anavayagga* is here very evidently employed as a synonym of *apāi* (Sanskrit *anādi*). It is a familiar practice of Hindu writers, whether Sanskrit, Pāli, or Prākṛit, to set side by side two or three or four synonymous expressions for the sake of greater emphasis and clearness. The passage should be translated as follows: 'Abhii . . . will stray to and fro in the tangle-

⁴ H. Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī*, p. 331c-18.

⁵ J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, pp. 113 f.

wood of the saṃsāra, which has no beginning, no known starting-point.'

6. ETYMOLOGY AND MEANING OF SANSKRIT *anavarāgra*.

The epithet commonly applied to the saṃsāra in Classical Sanskrit is *anādi*, 'beginningless.'⁶ But in Buddhistic Sanskrit, which may be aptly characterized by saying that it is nothing more than Sanskritized Pāli, the word *anādi* is never thus applied. Instead is used *anavarāgra*, a back-formation from the Pāli-Prākṛit.⁷ Since the compound negative prefix *an-a-* does not occur in Sanskrit⁸ the Sanskrit writers were hard put to it to coin a word resembling *anamatagga* *aṇavayagga* both in sound and meaning. But their ingenuity was equal to the task. Ultimately from the Pāli *anamatagga*, but more immediately from the Prākṛit *aṇavayagga*, they evolved, by redivision and modification working under the influence of popular etymology, the word *anavarāgra*. This word should, in my opinion, be divided *an-* 'not' + *avara* 'in the past' + *agra* 'starting-point.' It thus means *having no starting-point in the past*, and expresses, although by no means with such emphasis, substantially the same idea as Pāli-Prākṛit *anamatagga* *aṇavayagga*.

The correct interpretation of Pāli *anamatagga*, Prākṛit *aṇavayagga*, Sanskrit *anavarāgra*, is of the greatest importance to a correct understanding of the fundamental teachings of the Buddha. For the primary mission of the Buddha was to deliver mankind from the terrible jungle, the frightful ocean, of the round of existences, and the aspect of the round of existences which haunted the mind of the Buddha, the aspect with which he terrified the minds of his hearers, was its aspect as *anamatagga*.

It is utterly impossible, says the Buddha, for a human being so much as to imagine a beginning of this frightful round of existences. But there is a way for him to make an end of it. If he would be delivered from the horrors of repeated existences, he must get rid of Craving, the cause of rebirth. He must enter upon the Noble Eightfold Path and follow it to the end, even

⁶ See Böhtlingk-Roth, sub voce.

⁷ See *Divyāvadāna*, 197¹⁵⁻¹⁸; *Mahāvastu*, i. 34²⁻³, iii. 273².

⁸ See my paper on The Compound Negative Prefix *an-a-* in Greek and Indic, *American Journal of Philology*, XXXIX 299 ff.

to the plucking out of the Eye of Existence, even to Nibbāna.
For,—

Not only does this Path destroy ill-will,
But it also shuts the gate of hell,
And utterly dries up that boundless, frightful
Ocean of suffering, the round of existences,
Whose beginning it is utterly impossible to imagine.

Na kevalam ayaṃ maggo dosanāsanam eva ca
Karoti atha kho 'pāyadvāram pi pidheti ca
Anamatagga-samsāra-vaṭṭa-dukkha-mahodadhiṃ
Aparam atighoraṃ ca soseti ca asesato.

Abhidhammāvatāra, 1333 f.

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VI.—PARADISE LOST 9. 506; NATIVITY HYMN 133-153.

The few who nowadays read the whole of *Paradise Lost* must have been struck with the lines in the Ninth Book which describe the splendor of the tempting serpent (495 ff.), and close, after the poet's wont, with a pendant cluster of mythological comparisons:

Never since of serpent kind
Lovelier, not those that in Illyria changed
Hermione and Cadmus, or the god
In Epidaurus.

But why Hermione? *Harmonia* was the name of Cadmus' wife.

The great Bentley scented corruption throughout the text of *Paradise Lost*. It was contaminated, he maintained, by a perverted amanuensis. 'The Ignorant,' he says, 'mistakes Hermione, the daughter of Menelaus and Helena, for Harmonia, the daughter of Mars and Venus, wife of Cadmus.' 'Slashing' Bentley is out-slashed by Keightley: 'Here is a strange mistake, and which proves how little the poet's memory was to be relied on. One would think that any schoolboy would know that the name of Cadmus's wife was Harmonia.' Other editors attempt no explanation, except Newton; he thinks Milton found 'Hermione and Cadmus' more musical than 'Harmonia and Cadmus'—which it is.

That Milton, even as a schoolboy, knew better than Keightley supposed is shown by a sentence in one of his Prolusions:¹ 'Hinc Harmoniam Jovis et Electrae fuisse filiam reverenda credidit antiquitas, quae cum Cadmo nuptui data esset,' etc.

In truth Milton had documentary precedent for *Hermione* instead of *Harmonia*. It is a frequent variant in mediæval manuscripts of certain texts, together with a variety of intermediate forms—*Harmonie*, *Hermonia*, *Harmiona*, *Hermiona*. The text in which Milton was most likely to observe this variant was Statius' *Thebaid*. The name *Harmonia* occurs nine times—at 2. 267, 272, 290; 3. 271; 4. 206; 7. 603; 8. 236; 9. 824;

¹ *De Sphaerarum Concentu*, Prose Works, ed. Symmons, 6. 154.

10. 893. In nine of the manuscripts, all of an inferior group, written at various dates from the tenth to the fifteenth century, the reading is *Hermione* (with inflectional differences). None of these manuscripts was collated before Lindenbrog's² edition of 1600, in which this variant is recorded, though not incorporated in the text.³ *Hermione* is, however, the reading in the Cruceus edition of Statius, Paris, 1618. Nor is this variant confined to the text, but occurs also in the commentary by Lactantius, on 1. 179, 288, 680; 2. 266, 272; 3. 269, 274, and is so reprinted in the edition in which Milton did his reading of Statius.⁴ The variant appears again in the *Narrationes* of Lactantius 3.16 (*Auctores Mythographi Latini*, ed. van Staveren, p. 297). But a far more significant instance is found in the scholia of the Pseudacron to Horace, *Ars Poetica* 187: 'Cadmus et Hermione in angues conversi sunt. Nam Hermione filia Martis et Veneris dicitur fuisse.' All the manuscripts which contain this scholium read *Hermione*,⁵ and Milton might have read it either in quotation or in paraphrase in at least eight editions of Horace prior to 1654.⁶ These instances are enough to indicate how well-known the variant probably was to one who read his classics as thoroughly and extensively as did Milton.

But how old was this variant, and how did it first occur? Critical apparatus sufficient for a final answer is wanting, but, of the instances cited, the scholium of the Pseudacron seems to be the oldest. All the manuscripts containing it clearly refer themselves to a common origin, not later than 450-500.⁷ An earlier date for the variant I have not found. As for the extant manuscripts of the texts here cited, *Hermione* occurs in every century from the tenth to the fifteenth.

Circumstances easily suggest themselves which may have led to a confusion of *Harmonia* with *Hermione*. Neither of the

² See Kohlmann's edition of the *Thebaid*, p. 39 and n.

³ Kohlmann, Preface. In his note on 2. 267, he seems to imply that Lindenbrog reads *Hermione*, but the copies in the Bodleian and the British Museum read *Harmonia*.

⁴ On other books in Milton's library see Pattison, *Life of Milton*, p. 17; *AJP*. XXII 344. His copy of Pindar is in the Harvard Library.

⁵ Pseudacron, ed. O. Keller, vol. II, p. 340.

⁶ These I have examined. How greatly this number might be increased a glance at the list in the British Museum catalogue will show.

⁷ Pseudacron, ed. Keller, vol. I, p. xlii; vol. II, p. viii.

personages in mythology so named was very distinct or important. The first assimilation of the name *Harmonia* to *Hermione* may have been felt in the not infrequent Greek spelling, *Harmonie*, or in the Latin spelling, *Hermiona*. More advanced intermediate stages are suggested by the variety of spellings given above. *Hermione*, furthermore, seems to have been frequently a name for women, especially in the Empire, and later amongst the Christians,⁸ and a familiar name often displaces a similar but less familiar one. Then, if the error first occurred in a scholium, it was less likely to be corrected than in poetry or literary prose. Once established, it seems to have persisted through the centuries of decline in scholarship, and to have withstood correction even during the Renaissance down to Milton's time.

An instance of it in Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum* shows how common the error was. He twice tells the story of Cadmus and Harmonia (2. 63; 9. 37), in the first instance using the name *Hermione*, and in the second, *Harmonia*. In both cases Boccaccio draws from the same sources—Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (4. 562 ff.), and Jerome's version of the Second Book of the *Chronica* of Eusebius. But he could not have got the variant from Ovid, because in his account of Cadmus Ovid does not mention Harmonia; nor from Jerome, by any variants recorded in the best editions of that text. Evidently Boccaccio was familiar with both forms, and felt no scrupulous preference between them. It is not strange, then, if to Milton the variant *Hermione* was so well-known that he felt free to use it for the improvement of his cadence.

Bentley was seventy when he published his *Milton*. Even if his great powers were prematurely declining, it yet seems strange that he should have forgotten what he must previously have observed somewhat carefully on at least three occasions. He was the first to collate the Codex Roffensis of the *Thebaid*, which consistently reads *Hermiona*. He was also the first to collate a manuscript of this text at St. Peter's College, Cambridge, in which the same variant is found throughout.⁹ Furthermore his notes on the *Ars Poetica* in his edition of Horace

⁸ De-Vit, *Onomasticon*, s. v.

⁹ *Thebaid*, ed. Kohlmann, pp. x, xiv.

show what we should expect, a familiar use of the scholia of the Pseudacron.

The familiar lines in Milton's *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* describing the song of the angelic host close with these stanzas:

For, if such holy song
 Enwrap our fancy long,
 Time will run back and fetch the Age of Gold;
 And speckled Vanity
 Will sicken soon and die,
 And leprous Sin will melt from earthly mould;
 And Hell itself will pass away,
 And leave her dolorous mansions to the peering day.

Yea, Truth and Justice then
 Will down return to men,
 Orbed in a rainbow; and, like glories wearing,
 Mercy will sit between,
 Throned in celestial sheen,
 With radiant feet the tissued clouds down steering;
 And Heaven, as at some festival,
 Will open wide the gates of her high palace hall.

But wisest Fate says no,
 This must not yet be so;
 The Babe yet lies in smiling infancy
 That on the bitter cross
 Must redeem our loss.

Various sources of details in this passage from the Psalms, the *Iliad*, the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil, and Horace, have been noted by the editors.¹⁰ But the thought as a whole is that in the Fifth Book of the *Divine Institutes* of Lactantius. In chapter 5 he has recounted the legend of the Golden Age and Saturn's reign, the departure of Justice from the earth, and the ensuing cruelty of men beginning with the reign of Jupiter. This later régime is described as one of injustice, violence, and imposture, the opposites of Milton's Justice, Mercy, and Truth. These abuses, he says, shall continue as long as paganism endures. 'And now (in chapter 6) ¹¹ nothing remained of the pious and excellent condition of the preceding age; but Justice, being ban-

¹⁰ See Albert S. Cook, *Notes on Milton's Nativity Ode*, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. XV, pp. 345, 6.

¹¹ Fletcher's translation, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vol. XXI.

ished, and drawing with her Truth, left to men error, ignorance, and blindness.' Then, in chapter 7; 'But God, as a most indulgent parent, when the last time approached, sent a messenger [Christ] to bring back that old age, and Justice, which had been put to flight, that the human race might not be agitated by very great and perpetual errors. Therefore the appearance of that golden time returned, and Justice was restored to the earth, but was assigned to a few; and this Justice is nothing else than the pious and religious worship of the one God.' But the Age of Gold has not been suffered wholly to return because 'virtue can neither be discerned, unless it has vices opposed to it; nor be perfect unless it is exercised by its adversity'¹². . . . This is evidently the cause which effects that, although Justice is sent to men, yet it cannot be said that a Golden Age exists; because God has not taken away evil, that He might retain that diversity which alone preserves the mystery of a divine religion.' Again, in chapter 8; 'Lay aside every evil thought from your hearts, and that Golden Age will at once return to you, which you cannot attain by any other means than by beginning to worship the true God. But you [pagans] long for Justice on the earth, while the worship of false gods continues, which cannot possibly come to pass. . . . How happy and how golden would be the condition of human affairs, if throughout the world gentleness, and piety, and peace, and innocence, and equity, and temperance, and faith, took up their abode!' The rest of the Fifth Book arraigns the injustice, falsity, and cruelty of paganism, to which the coming of Christ will, in time, put an end. The burden of Milton's hymn is the triumph of the new-born Savior over the pagan deities.

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¹² Lat. *adversis*. Better, 'its opposites'?



REVIEWS

A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare. The Life and Death of King John. Edited by HORACE HOWARD FURNESS, JR. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1919 [1920].

After an interval of more than six years, *King John*, the eighteenth play in the New Variorum Shakespeare, has at last appeared. If the time necessary to complete this edition be computed by the period between *Julius Caesar* (which appeared in 1913) and the present play it will be seen that the work will not be finished until about 2028. It is therefore surely the duty of every reviewer to press upon Dr. FURNESS, with the most profound respect for the great achievement of his father so satisfactorily carried on by himself, the advisability of engaging the services of a corps of editors who, working under his general direction, would be able to issue the remaining plays within a reasonable number of years and who could make the completion of this great edition the outstanding accomplishment of Shakespearean scholarship in America in this generation. That such a coöperative undertaking is easily possible has been proved by Professor R. M. Alden's Variorum edition of the *Sonnets*. If reluctance to assign the major responsibility for any one play to someone else makes the thought of divided editorship distasteful to Dr. FURNESS, it might still be possible (following the example again set by Professor Alden) to portion out certain problems in each drama—the rival merits of quarto and folio texts; the date of the play; sources; stage history; foreign commentators; etc.—to a group of sub-editors. Much time could be thus saved. Everyone, I am sure, will sympathize with Dr. FURNESS in his obvious feeling of filial piety which would naturally make of the New Variorum a sort of family monument; and there would be no disposition on the part of any Shakespearean scholar to claim more than a very subordinate share of the responsibility and honor of the task.

The text of the present play is a reprint of that of the First Folio according to the plan adopted by the elder Dr. Furness after some three or four plays had been printed with an eclectic text. It is noteworthy that in this, unlike earlier volumes of this edition, there is no uniformity in the reproduction of typographical blemishes such as "leads," raised or dropt letters, and lines in need of justification. Some of these are reproduced; some not; but the matter is not of sufficient importance to war-

rant offering a complete list of such variants from the Folio. On the other hand, certain errors in the reprint, whether of spelling or of punctuation, are worthy of record both because such departures from the original where the minutest accuracy is desiderated in the reprint should be noted and because the paucity of such departures is better evidence of Dr. FURNESS's general carefulness than would be any mere unsubstantiated words of commendation. I have had for purposes of comparison only the Methuen facsimile of the Devonshire copy of the Folio; it is therefore possible (since variants exist between different copies of the Folio) that what I have noted as an error may be an exact reproduction of the text of Dr. FURNESS's copy of the original. But it is unlikely that such is the case in each of the following nine or ten lines. Be it noted, first, that in various places in the text it is difficult to distinguish between a battered lower-case "r" and a battered lower-case "t." In some instances Dr. FURNESS prints "t" (e. g. II, i, 557: "daughtet"); in others "r" (e. g. V, iii, 12: "rhe"). There are many other places in which the question whether the letter is "r" or "t" is quite as doubtful (e. g. II, i, 559 and 605).

Setting aside this doubtful point, I note the following errors: I, i, 130: add period at end of line.—I, i, 168: add period after "K"—II, i, 119: add the mark of contraction over the o in "fro"—II, i, 321: add comma after "France"—III, i, 172: for "pencil" read "pencill"—IV, i, 141: delete comma after "sleep"—for "fit" read "sit" (long s)—V, vii, 61: for "faile" read "saile" (long s)—V, vii, 118: the s in "teares" seems to be inverted and is of a larger font.

It may be noted also that, though in other necessary places Dr. FURNESS has facilitated reference by adding the modern numbering to acts and scenes misnumbered in the Folio, he has neglected to do this at the beginning of Act V, where the absurd Folio enumeration "Actus Quartus, Scaena prima" remains uncorrected. I have noted a very few errors in the text variants, a portion of the editorial work where the possibilities of errors in proof are enormous and upon which most painstaking care has been spent. The commentary is excellently printed; I have noted not more than six or seven errors. There are four small misprints in the text of *The Troublesome Reign*. It is not very apparent why, since the spelling of the old play is modernized, the punctuation should not have been somewhat rectified.

The to-be-expected loyalty of Dr. FURNESS to the Folio text is seen in the decisions which he renders in several disputed passages; and in the rare instances in which he favors a departure from that text his verdict is given reluctantly. The two most noteworthy cases of his abandonment of the Folio are: II, i, 345 where in the original text the Citizen of Angiers who

parleys with the opposing kings is called "Hubert"; and III, i, 143 (a line that has called down a perfect avalanche of commentary) where Dr. FURNESS is inclined to accept the emendation "uptrimmed" for the "untrimmed" of the Folio. Dr. FURNESS's own novel interpretations of difficult passages are few in number; for the most part he plays the modest though arduous part of the compiler and arbiter; but four suggestions that he advances are of sufficient interest and importance to justify some mention of them even in a brief review.

A line that has occasioned more comment than almost any other in the play is Constance's "For grief is proud and makes his owner stoope" (III, i, 72), a sentiment puzzling in itself and apparently contradicting what has gone before in Constance's speech. Dr. FURNESS suggests, though with diffidence, that "owner" may mean "one who acknowledges or recognizes." This interpretation, which precisely fits the context and makes the word "owner" apply to the kings for whom Constance declares that she will wait, seems to the present reviewer excellent.

IV, ii, 120: "Where is my mother's care?" The letter "c" in the last word is so battered and worn in the Folio text that many editors have taken it for an "e" and therefore read "Where is my mother's eare?" Dr. FURNESS shows that the letter in question is a somewhat defaced italic "c" of a different font from that usually employed but which appears earlier in the play in one word and again later in the play in another, in both which places there can be no doubt whatever that the letter is "c" not "e." He thus establishes the Folio text beyond peradventure and in doing so affords convincing proof, for those who may need it, of the value of letter-by-letter study of the Folio text.

V, ii, 150: "Your Nation's crow." Dr. FURNESS destroys faith in an explanation hitherto curiously unquestioned that the reference here is to the Gallic cock as a national symbol. He shows (as any former editor might have shown, but did not) that the cock was not used by the French as a national emblem until long after Shakespeare's time.

V, vi, 18: Hubert explains to the Bastard that "grief and endless night" hindered him from recognizing him at once. The adjective "endless" has occasioned a good deal of comment. Dr. FURNESS suggests that Hubert refers, not to the actual darkness of the seemingly endless night of anxiety through which Hubert is passing, but to the "endless night of death." Though this interpretation is feebly substantiated by the fact that Hubert goes on to report that King John is dying, it yet seems to me unnecessary to give to the phrase any such unliteral meaning. The simplest interpretation (as Dr. FURNESS himself so often advises) is apt to be the best; and accordingly I believe that

Hubert intends no more than that the darkness of the night, which to his anxious mind seems endless, prevented him from recognizing the Bastard at once.

I am not certain that Dr. FURNESS was well advised in omitting all passages from the chronicles in the section of his appendix dealing with the source of the play. It is true that all modern critics regard it as certain that Shakespeare merely remodeled the older *Troublesome Reign of King John*; but this fact is not proof that he did not use also material from other sources. Thus, the bursting of the bowels of the monk who tasted the poison that he gave to the king, which is mentioned in Grafton's *Chronicle* and is referred to by Shakespeare, is not mentioned in the older play. Perhaps, however, the excerpts from various chronicles given in the course of the commentary are sufficient; to reprint larger extracts in the appendix would have swelled an already large volume inordinately.

An astonishing omission from the section of the Appendix dealing with the "Dramatic and Poetical Versions of the Life of King John" is that of any reference to Robert Davenport's by no means negligible play *King John and Matilda*.

It is regrettable that the excellent plan, followed in former volumes, of separating foreign from English criticism has not been adhered to in this play. Some needless confusion might have been avoided had Dr. FURNESS occasionally supplied editorial warnings in brackets in various places in the appendix, as he has done in the commentary, where earlier critics have made positive misstatements. Finally, it may be remarked that it would be convenient if in future volumes of this edition Dr. FURNESS would refer to the latest and definitive editions of various writers rather than to older, no longer standard texts. Thus, his references to Middleton are to Dyce's rather than to Bullen's edition; those to Nashe are to Grosart's rather than McKerrow's; those to Donne are to Grosart's rather than Grierson's. The edition of Ward's *History of English Dramatic Literature* employed is that of 1875.

The foregoing comments, of necessity limited almost entirely to a few corrections of detail, must not be construed as in any way in contradiction to the feeling of admiration and respect with which the reviewer desires to greet this latest instalment of a truly monumental work.

SAMUEL C. CHW.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE.

Boethius: the Theological Tractates and the Consolation of Philosophy. Edited by H. F. STEWART and E. K. RAND. London: W. Heinemann, 1918. 240 pp.

The volume devoted to Boethius in the Loeb Classical Library contains the five Theological Tractates and the Consolation of Philosophy. The Latin text has been carefully prepared by Professor RAND, who may fairly claim to have acquired an especial competence in this field. The translation of the Theological Tractates is the joint work of the two editors. This is an excellent translation of some very difficult Latin. For the Consolation, Dr. STEWART has revised a good old English version, by 'I. T.' (1609), and presents it here "with such alterations as are demanded by a better text, and the requirements of modern scholarship." Altogether, the volume is a welcome addition to the Loeb series, and a distinct gain to both classical and theological studies. Unfortunately, there are too many misprints: p. 15, l. 18, 'Sun,' for 'Son'; 70, 271, 'contemplationem' for 'contemplatio'; 138, 29; 'nonnullus' for 'nonnullos'; 214, 40, 'quod' for 'quo'; 239, 13, 'wants' for 'want'; 246, 37, 'ne' for 'nec'; 254, 35, 'quidem' for 'quidam'; 256, 14, 'ut' for 'tu.' At p. 271, l. 1, the word 'different' has dropped out; at 371, 22 the word 'judgment' is omitted. At p. 149, l. 33 'I. T.'s' translation is wrong: "but I exceedingly marvel to see what things they hoped to bring to pass" ("sed quae speraverint effecisse vehementer admiror"). George Colville did better in 1556: "but I do maruayle gretlye howe they can brynge to passe the thynges that they haue taken in hande." At p. 254, l. 4 the conjecture 'Aristophanes,' for 'Aristoteles,' is not very convincing. Finally, one or two additional parallels might have been cited in the notes. At p. 246, l. 15, "et serviat ultima Thyle," cp. Verg. Geor. I 30; at 346, 127, "iustissimum et aequi servantissimum," cp. Aen. II 426-7. For some reason, the bibliography, which is a regular feature of the Loeb series, is omitted from this volume.

W. P. MUSTARD.

Sancti Augustini Vita scripta a Possidio Episcopo. Edited with revised text, introduction, notes, and an English version. By HERBERT T. WEISKOTTEN. Princeton University Press, 1919. 175 pp.

This is a dissertation recently presented at Princeton University for the degree of Ph. D. Possidius, Bishop of Calama, was an intimate friend of Augustine for "about 40 years." His Vita is the main source of our knowledge of the great churchman's life—as man and as bishop—from his conversion in 387

to his death in 430. It was probably written in 432, or a little later. Dr. WEISKOTTEN has spent much toil on the text, and has tried to present "a revision of previous editions in the light of fuller evidence from a larger number of MSS." His notes are mainly concerned with matters of ecclesiastical history and with the many biblical allusions and quotations in the text. His translation is usually a faithful rendering of the text he adopts, but there are a few cases of inconsistency, or inaccuracy. 'Securus,' p. 47, 16, is hardly 'secure'; 'editos' (of books) is hardly 'edited' (62, 24; 110, 6). 'Nimium,' 136, 25, is not 'doubtless'; 'praedicti,' 106, 12, is not 'illustrious.' 'Pervasum,' 64, 25, can hardly mean 'escaped.' At p. 84, 13, there must be something wrong about either the text or the translation, or both: 'provectibus quoque et studiis favens erat, et exsultans omnium bonorum,' 'he also delighted in the pursuit of his studies and rejoiced in all good.'

W. P. MUSTARD.

The Correspondence of Cicero. Vol. IV. Second edition. By TYRRELL and PURSER. 1918. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., Ltd.; London, Longmans, Green & Co.

The long awaited revision of this fourth volume is now at hand.¹ Despite several excisions and much suppression of material the volume has increased to 633 well-packed pages. The introduction has been altered chiefly by the addition of numerous foot-notes. A few appendices have, however, been inserted at the end to relieve unwieldy notes under the text, the notes have undergone a thorough overhauling, and the critical appendix has been improved particularly along the lines of Sjögren's suggestions. New and complete collations are apparently not offered, but they were hardly to be expected in view of the progress that Sjögren is making.

Notwithstanding the deprecatory modesty of the introduction, the book is almost a new piece of work, and it should be procured by all who are interested in Tullian studies. The reader may be assured that despite a tendency toward conservatism in the new material offered the book has lost none of those qualities that have distinguished this edition of the letters: a sure political sense, an accurate and withal a sympathetic reading of character, and a penetrating understanding of Roman society.

Since this is a second edition, I shall only offer a few sug-

¹ The second edition of the fifth volume, somewhat too hastily revised, was issued in 1915 when the first edition of that volume was found to be out of print.

gestions which may be of use to some of the many readers which it deserves to find.

Page xiv, "600 gladiators"; In Ad Att. vii 14, 2 we have *scutorum* 150. Has this been misread for DC?

Page xvii, note 1: Cicero says quite definitely in Pro Rabirio 22, that Labienus was a Picentine, and Catullus (Carmen 114) calls him Firmanus, see Am. Jour. Phil. 1919, 408.

Page xviii: on Caesar's route a reference should be made to Peaks, Class. Rev. 1904, 346.

Page lxiv: Crassus, not Cassius, was assigned to Syria by the Trebonian law.

Page ci: the new essay on Cornificius is welcome; but there seems to be no reason for supposing that he was "praetor in 47 B. C."

Page 58, (cohortes) . . . *missum* facias: Pompey may well be criticized if he used *missum* thus as a participle, but he may have felt it as a supine.

Page 98, note on § 5: "Lepidus" (*bis*), should be Lentulus.

Page 180, note on § 2: "ii qui . . . an allusion to Domitius." Rather, a reference to Cicero's explicit mention of Lentulus in Ad Att. ix 11, a 3.

Page 228, note: the reference is to letter 382, 8, not to 372.

Page 233: the explanatory introduction is erroneous. Indeed the editor's first note on the letter is correct in making this letter an answer to no. 383, rather than to advice given several months before.

Page 246: the explanation of *Caelianum illud* here and in the following notes still seems unconvincing. See Class. Phil. 1919, 287.

Page 363: the editor seems not to have justified his rejection of the MS reading *intellegerim*.

TENNEY FRANK.

Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. II. New York, University Press Association; Cambridge, Harvard University Press; New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918. In memoriam Jesse Benedict Carter, Frederic Crowninshield, Richard Norton.

In the account of the Recent Work of the School of Fine Arts, it is stated that the Trustees have decided to present each year in the *Memoirs* a selection of plates reproducing the work of the Fellows of the School of Fine Arts, and this volume presents fifteen subjects including a Capital of the temple of Mars Ultor, the Palace of Domitian on the Palatine, restored, a restoration of the Ponte Rotto, a restoration of the Circular Pavilion at

Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, the Villa Gamberaia, a Bas-relief by Gregory, an Equestrian Statue by Friedlander, and a Peasant by Jennewein. Among the paintings are a Fig Tree by Stickroth, the Rape of Europa by Cowles, Commerce by Davidson. These samples show beyond a doubt that the Academy is training some very important architects, sculptors, and painters whose work will soon be famous.

The article on Terracotta Arulae by Mrs. VAN BUREN is a scholarly and exhaustive treatment, with a chronological table, of small terracotta altars which, though not of great artistic merit in themselves, influenced sculpture in relief and especially that of Roman sarcophagi. The sequence is traced from the neolithic "table-leg altar" through the Babylonian variations and the Mycenaean culture to the terracotta altars, the type losing the original pillar-like form and becoming squarer in section until it culminates in the altars of Calvinus and Verminius.

Miss ROBERTS' unillustrated article on The Gallic Fire and Roman Archives is a valuable historical study determining the extent of the Gallic fire in 387 B. C. Miss ROBERTS concludes that the temples of Saturn, Castor, Dios Fidius, Diana, Ceres, and perhaps of Juno survived, and that the Gauls had more regard for the Roman temples and archives than is generally supposed. An important study for students of Livy.

Professor VAN BUREN's Studies in the Archaeology of the Forum at Pompeii corrects certain traditional statements about well-known monuments such as the great cult statue of Jupiter, the great inscription on the pavement of the Forum, the arch at the south end of the Forum, the Curia, and the school which has hitherto been explained as a stoa or market, and about the changes in the Forum due to the Roman colonists. Professor VAN BUREN's scholarly studies at Pompeii reveal his intimate knowledge of that city and indicate that much still remains to be done in interpreting the remains at Pompeii.

STANLEY LOTHROP's exhaustive study of the Roman painter Pietro Cavallini, with forty-five artistic and interesting plates, concludes the volume. Especial attention is given to the decoration of the Palazzo Pubblico in Perugia, which previous students have neglected and which LOTHROP attributes to Cavallini or some close follower. Almost all of Cavallini's works are reproduced, many of the photographs having been taken by LOTHROP himself.

These *Memoirs* continue the high standard set by the previous volume (see A. J. P. XL 108). The printing is beautifully done, and there are many handsome illustrations.

DAVID MOORE ROBINSON.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

REPORTS.

HERMES LIV (1919), 1 and 2.

Metrische Beiträge (1-45). K. Münscher assumes an ancient popular measure consisting of four theses that were either independent or associated in ascending or descending rhythm with arses of one or two syllables. From this he derives the paroimiakon, lekythion, ithyphallikon etc. In his survey of early and late examples he makes numerous interesting observations.

Lesefrüchte (46-74). U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.

Literarhistorische Beiträge V (75-86). W. A. Baehrens reads the Lucilian verse in Pliny n. h. praef. 7: †Manium [Persium] haec legere nolo etc., and combines it with Persium non curo legere etc. (Cic. de orat. II 25). He explains the intrusion of Persium in the Pliny MS.; also why Cicero quoted the line, cited by Pliny, in his de rep.—2. B. emends and assembles verses that Lucilius (Sat. xxix) derived from the Hymnis of Cæcilius just as Horace (Sat. II 3, 259 ff.) adapted verses from the Eunuchus of Terence.—3. Lucilius' earliest publication (xxvi-xxx) was in 123 B. C.; but the concilium deorum in book I satirizing Lupus, princeps senatus, must have been written 125 B. C. immediately after the death of Lupus, just as Seneca wrote his Apocolocyntosis soon after the death of Claudius.

Glykera und Menander (87-93). A. Körte shows that the romantic relation between G. and M., pictured by Alciphron and accepted as historical by Christ-Schmid (Ed. 5, II 1, 29) is pure fiction. He discusses the Athenian hetærae in Hellenistic literature.

Augustinus und die Topik der Aretalogie (94-103). Ad. Jülicher objects to the examples Werner cites in Hermes 1918 p. 242 (cf. AJP XL, p. 216) to illustrate the practice of retelling an old oft-told story as a personal experience. He especially defends Augustinus against the imputation of practising such a fraud.

Miscellen: F. Hiller v. Gaertringen (104-107). Δεύτεραι φρονιδες.—Th. Thalheim (108) emends and comments on Demosthenes XXXVIII 12; 21, 22; XLII 1; XLIII 41.—H. F. Müller (109-110) points out correspondences between Paul's classification of men into σαρκικοί, ψυχικοί and πνευματικοί and the threefold classification of Plotinus.—U. Wilcken (111-112) from an examination of the Berlin papyrus 889 is able to identify the supposed uprising of the Jews in Egypt in 136/7 A. D.

with the well-known one in 116/7 A. D.—Berichtigung (112) zu Bd. LI (1916), S. 478 f.

Zur Geschichte des Latinerbundes (113-173). A. Rosenberg has worked out an historic sketch of the Latin league from inscriptional, topographical and other evidence, discarding most of the matter that Livy obtained from the later annalists. According to R. the Latin league preceded Rome in a policy of conquest and colonization, and Rome actually joined the league on terms of equality with the other members in the V century. But about 400 B. C. when the aristocratic autocracy gave way to the rising tide of popular government, Rome began to gain step by step a predominating influence in the Latin league. In the treaty with Carthage 343 B. C. members of the Latin league appear as subjects of Rome.

Caesaris servus (174-186). M. Bang regards Caesaris servus as the designation of the property of the man Caesar, like the old Gai por, Luci por. He shows its occurrence in inscriptions until the time of Hadrian; but it was finally superseded by Augusti servus. On the other hand as Augustus originated as the title of the emperor it may be for this reason that Augusti libertus was a regular term from the beginning in order to designate the free citizen like the title milites Augusti. Variations of the above with noster etc. are shown.

Eine vorplatonische Kunsttheorie (187-207). E. Howald derives the psychic katharsis of Aristotle's Poetics from the Pythagoreans. Aristoxenos' saying: *κάθαρσις σώματος διὰ τῆς ἰατρικῆς, ψυχῆς δὲ διὰ μουσικῆς* was a Leitmotiv of the Pythagoreans. This doctrine conflicts with the main thesis of mimesis; but Aristotle frequently included matter from divergent sources. H. discusses the Poetics, Politics ch. 8, Plato, Iamblichus etc.

Miscellen: P. Stengel (208-211) explains the meaning of *ἐνδορα ἐνδέεται* (cf. AJP XXIII, p. 336).—F. Hiller v. Gaertringen (211-215) restores the inscription IG I 350 b Suppl. p. 153, commemorating a dedication of Callimachus of Aphidna after the battle of Marathon (cf. Hermes XXXI (1896) pp. 150 f.).—R. Philippson (216-217) cites Plutarch to support his *οὐ* for Diel's *ἐν* in a passage of Philodemus. Only the godhead is *ἐν καὶ ταύτόν*; but man is *πολλὰ καὶ ἕτερα* (cf. AJP XL 216).—O. Kern (217-219) discusses the spook *Γελλώ*, of which Porphyrius seems to have treated in some lost work.—F. Graefe (219-224) shows with citations from Herodotus, Thucydides, etc. that the ancients practised naval manœuvres in a way to satisfy the rules, which he quotes, of modern naval tactics.

HERMAN LOUIS EBELING.

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REVUE DE PHILOGIE, Vol. XLII (1918) pts. 3, 4.

Pp. 133-168. Alfred Ernout. Cas en *-e-* et cas en *-i-* de la troisième déclinaison dans Lucrèce. A study of the confusion of forms in *-e-* and forms in *-i-* in the third declension. The writer gives complete statistics for the text of Lucretius, examining all the cases where confusion may have arisen, and comparing the spelling of the two Leyden manuscripts, O and Q, with the usage of the great official inscriptions of the Roman Republic. He finds that the consonant stems have largely influenced the declension of the vowel stems in *i*; that the influence of analogy was best resisted by the vowel stems which had best retained their distinctive *-i-* in the nominative singular. He deduces some practical rules for the constituting of a classical text. In the case of consonant stems, never admit an accusative singular in *-im*, or a nominative or accusative plural in *-is*; accept the ablative singular in *-i* only when it is expressly required by the metre. As for vowel stems, admit the accusative singular in *-im* only in words for which there is some formal evidence; accept the ablative in *-i*: (1) in all adjectives; (2) in participles and in words which have a nominative in *-is*, if it has good manuscript authority or is required by the metre. In the plural, always write the nominative in *-es*, and keep the accusative in *-is* for adjectives.

Pp. 169-251. Paul Jourdan. Notes de critique verbale sur Scribonius Largus. A study of the text of the *Compositiones*. The author was born about the beginning of the Christian era. He took part in the expedition which Claudius directed against Britain. His work was dedicated to an influential freedman Callistus; it was published probably after the year 47. M. Jourdan begins his study with some account of the principal editions: by Jean du Rueil, Paris, 1529; by the Danish scholar Jean Rhode, or Rhodius, Padua, 1655; by G. Helmreich, Leipzig, 1887.

Pp. 252-254. Bulletin bibliographique. Reviews of J. Brummer's *Vitae Vergilianae*, Leipzig, 1912, by Paul Lejay (Brummer has entirely ignored Sabbadini's important article in the *Studi italiani di Filologia classica*, 1907, p. 197); of Emily M. Dutton's *Studies in Greek prepositional phrases*, Chicago, 1913, and F. Ageno's *Periculum criticum Ovidianum*, by G. Viallon; of Gaetano De Sanctis' *Storia dei Romani*, vol. III: *L'Età delle guerre puniche*, Turin, 1916-17, by Victor Chapot.

Revue des revues et publications d'Académies relatives à l'antiquité classique. Fascicules publiés en 1917, et tables, pp. 65-171.

Revue des comptes rendus d'ouvrages relatifs à l'antiquité classique, par J. Marouzeau, comptes rendus parus en 1915, pp. 1-85.

WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

BRIEF MENTION.

In these times of financial storm and stress magazines, especially technical magazines, have become what the French call 'struggle-for-lifeurs.' Banishment and curtailment of superfluities are indicated everywhere. While I was yet in charge of the Journal, I consulted in my perplexity the oracle of all good Grecians. The response came from the first verse of the slaughter of the suitors (the profiteers of the period) which tells of how the man of counsel stripped him of his rags, ἀτὰρ ὁ γυμνῶθη βακίων πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς. In that verse I read the doom of my Brief Mention rag-bag. But, owing to the intercession of friends, sentence was suspended and the obituary which I had prepared suppressed. But certain sentences of that composition of an historical or haply consolatory character have been deemed worthy of reproduction here.

Like the Romans, the Americans began to dabble in grammar before they had a literature of their own. In English, Lindley Murray, an American, held the lead for a long time. In Greek, Goodwin was the first American Hellenist to win substantial and enduring recognition in what some of us may be permitted to call the mother-country. To this American bent I, too, have yielded and for many years paid tribute to what the wicked might call the national Mumbo-Jumbo. But after decades of ploughing in grammatical furrows and stubbing the waste lands adjacent thereunto, I found myself hankering after the key of fields in which I disported myself in the early years of my long life of endeavour. Despairing of making any considerable additions to literature proper from which future generations might cull what the French call "pages choisies," I began to make up from a mass of manuscripts my own "pages choisies" and to deposit some of them from time to time in the department of the Journal long known as *Brief Mention*. Every now and then I received words of encouragement from personal correspondents and even words of commendation from the public press, but one great lesson of the strait sect in which I was brought up, not to think more highly of myself than I ought to think, has been forced upon me from various quarters. One critic, and that a pupil of my own, passed a damnatory sentence on the whole congeries of observations, which, as a French reviewer said to my great glee, escape analysis. 'Even the simplest *Brief Mention*,' wrote the stern censor, 'will lack meaning for any man unless he is encyclopaedic in his classical knowledge or is keeping close at hand the best glossary possible.' In other

words, *Brief Mention* is a tissue of recondite allusions further hidden by a Babylonish dialect of uncouth words, whereas, personally, I abhor pedantry, and my diction is regulated by a modest range of literary convention. If my critic is right, I must plead guilty to an utter lack of sympathetic imagination. Another censor of more amiable turn reproached me with giving up to *Brief Mention* what was meant for mankind. So to one the "risus ab angulo" sounds cracked; to another, the scant sunshine of this "riant nook" seems clouded by the dust of the schoolroom. 'Ahi, quanta malinconia!' to quote once more Fraccaroli,¹ whose taking off has brought sadness to all Pindaric scholars.

'A ripping good lecture,' said a distinguished English scholar to me after I had given one of my talks on Aristophanes at Harvard, adding, as if apologizing to himself for a conventional compliment to an American, 'We don't do that sort of thing any more in England.' It seems that I had not been able to avoid a semblance of wit and humour in discoursing on wit and humour in Aristophanes, a proceeding quite out of keeping with the prevalent gravity of English scholarship. I was a relatively old stager before I attracted the attention of British critics, who began by noticing in a sniffy way first my Pindar and then, after an interval, my collection of Essays and Studies. But rebukes direct and implied came too late to affect my equanimity. I have acted on the line which I found afterwards laid down by Flaubert. The only way to do anything really fine is to please one's self. Unfortunately, Flaubert himself was hard to please, and Cicero, vain as he was, expresses an artist's dissatisfaction with his own performances. It is only your Nero that says: *Qualis artifex pereo*. But one remembers St. Augustine and limps along the right path. The criticisms of the English reviewers were levelled at the Americanisms of my language and my attempts, seemingly unsuccessful, at a lighter vein. The Americanisms were all amply warranted by good English usage, and one of the defects was the tendency to indulge in allusions to the great English authors. Then there was the old-fashioned facetiousness.

To be called facetious is of itself a condemnation. Facetiousness belongs in an especial manner to the fashionable physician and the ecclesiastic of high degree. I had no set purpose to be facetious or jocose. And if in the last forty years the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY has shewn in *Brief Mention* or elsewhere, a proclivity to take a somewhat humorous view of life and letters, it has only manifested a national characteristic

¹ Cf. A. J. P. XV 502.

to be expected of an editor who has every right to be considered an American. Nothing is more national than the sense of humour and the manifestation of humour. There are those who think that the nation was born in the throes of the Civil War. Momus is older than Eileithyia (N. 7).

This characteristic of our people is one of the points that help to sustain Mr. Freeman's parallelism of the Sicily of old with the America of to-day. Every one who has read the *Ver-rines* will remember the tribute Cicero, the wit and humorist, paid to the witty and humorous Sicilian. Epicharmos might have been an American. The mime has an American cast: Sophron dyed off on Plato, and the admirers of Plato may recognize something Sicilian in Emerson. "Wherein the Americanism of our lighter vein consists, it is not easy to determine." No critical mind can be satisfied with the once popular resolution into overstatement and understatement, hyperbole and litotes, which are quite too primitive, quite too rudimental. Nor will a study of Mr. Starkie's commentary in his chapter "Aristotle on the Laughter in Comedy" serve to meet the conditions. Whimsicality and quizzicality are characteristic, it is true, but too elusive. Like flavour and scent, national humour defies analysis. What lies beyond the *raison démonstrative* of wit fails to be appreciated by the foreigner. I have recently read an article in which it is asserted that Americans have succeeded in making the Japanese laugh, but Nippon is irresponsible to Mark Twain. As for that matter, Captain Bairnsfather has announced that he intends to import American newspaper men to England in order to teach his countrymen how to appreciate the journalism of America. But nothing seems to rouse the ire of British critics more than the use of what they call journalese in the treatment of grammatical subjects, and for my part, I have for all the years of my travels through the Arabia deserta of Philology delighted in adding to my store of the pawkishnesses of Veitch and the snappishnesses of Lobeck. Immanuel Bekker is a quarry not to be neglected. The most atrabilarious critic can hardly repress a smile when Bekker persists in inflecting Meineke as if he were a Greek old woman. But the words of an old song, a song that was old when I was young, come back to me,

Shepherds, I have lost my love,
Have you seen my Anna?

Pastoral poetry is dead. There are no shepherds left, and my Ana will remain unseen for ever.

But not all English scholars are as obdurate as some of my critics. Two exceptions come up to my mind, one is Rendel Harris, but in his case residence in America may have added a tinge to his native sunshiny humour. The other is his friend,

Hope Moulton, whose treatment of the airy sorist and the impish imperfect brought upon him the severe censure of a reviewer of his *Prolegomena* to a Grammar of New Testament Greek (A. J. P. XXX 107). It seems strange that so joyous a spirit should have had so tragic an exit and that Moulton should have fallen a victim to the ruthless machinery of a German submarine. Of this misadventure Moulton's friend and mine, Rendel Harris, has written an account, unrivalled in vividness by any narrative of shipwreck since the shipwreck recorded in the Acts. From this account, which the writer, characteristically enough, thinks will in time to come be attributed by German critics to a conflation of St. Paul and Synesius, I am permitted to publish an extract describing the end of the gifted and ill-fated scholar:

Moulton was in the next place in the boat, a little further from me, and more exposed to the weather, and with no protection except a piece of tarpaulin which had been erected over his head, and over which the waves were constantly breaking. He had been very busy with the oars and with the baling as long as his strength lasted. I myself tried to row, but was too feeble, and was ordered off. He stuck to it until attacks of sickness stopped him. But up to the last he was doing everything he could for everybody, and won the admiration of all on board. They brought me word on Saturday morning early that he was sinking. I struggled to get to him, but in the few moments' delay he passed away, and before I could get across to him he was gone, and his body was lying on the side of the boat ready for last words and last actions. There was no need for prayers in the case of such as he, so I gave him a kiss of love for myself and for those that were his, and told him that I would care for his little girl, for whom he had been so anxious—and after that, the deep. That was Saturday morning.

I have somewhere expressed a mild surprise that a scholar such as Leopold Schmidt should have attached so much documentary importance to the apophthegms attributed to Pindar. Compare Introductory Essay, p. xiv, of my edition of Pindar.

Apophthegms, anecdotes, repartees, hoc genus omne are really *ferae naturae* liable to be caught by any literary game-keeper and assigned to this or that bag according to his good pleasure. Sometimes everything depends upon the assignment, or, to change the figure, upon the setting. A striking illustration of this has recently crossed my track. In my sketch of Bywater, I cited one of his anecdotes as shewing the scholar's relish for caustic humour, A. J. P. XXXVIII 409.

Pio Nono when in conversation with Cardinal Antonelli lit a cigarette and handed the case to the Cardinal, who said, "You know, Holiness, that I have not that vice." "You know, Eminence," replied the Pope, "that if it were a vice, you would have it."

To one who has read of Cardinal Antonelli's private life and is acquainted with Pio Nono's mundane wit, the setting is perfect.

Here is Mr. Russell's version of the story, "Collections and Recollections," p. 186:

A friend of mine in the diplomatic service, visiting Rome in the days of the Temporal Power, had the honour of an interview with Pío Nono. The Pope graciously offered him a cigar, "I am told that you will find them very fine." The Englishman made that stupidest of all answers, "Thanks, your Holiness, but I have no vices." "This isn't a vice; if it was, you would have it."

In comparison with Bywater's rendering, the diplomatist's telling of the story is as clumsy as the imaginary Englishman was stupid; it quite lacks the Italian finesse, and lacks the air of authenticity.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY

1865-1920

It is the sad duty of the Journal to record the recent death of one of its most frequent and valued contributors, EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY, Professor of Latin in the University of Texas. Called to the bedside of his sister in Pittsburgh, who was ill with pneumonia, he himself fell a victim to that disease, which carried him off on February 17. As a man, EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY was an honor to the community that was fortunate enough to possess him; as a teacher, he held a firm place in the esteem and affection of those who were privileged to be his pupils; as a scholar, he stood in the front rank of American men of learning, and achieved international distinction.

C. W. E. MILLER.

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1. Q. Valerii Catulli Carmina. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendicem criticam addidit Carolus Pascal.

2. Cornelii Taciti de origine et situ Germanorum liber. Ad fidem praecipue codicis Aesini recensuit, praefatus est Caesar Annibaldi. Appendicem criticam in Taciti libellum, scriptorum Romanorum de Germanis veteribus testimonia selecta adiecit Carolus Pascal.

3. C. Iulii Caesaris commentarii de bello civili. Recensuit, praefatus est, brevi appendice critica instruxit Dominicus Bassi.

4. M. Tullii Ciceronis de re publica librorum sex quae supersunt. Recensuit, brevi appendice critica instruxit Carolus Pascal. Praefatus est, testimonia adiecit Iohannes Galbiati.

5. M. Minucii Felicis Octavius. Recognovit, praefatus est, appendicem criticam addidit Aloisius Valmaggi.

6. T. Macci Plauti Stichus. Ad codicis Ambrosiani praecipue fidem edidit, appendicem criticam addidit C. O. Zuretti.

7. Cornelii Taciti de vita Iulii Agricolae liber. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendice critica instruxit Caesar Annibaldi. Accedunt de Cornelio Tacito testimonia vetera a Carolo Pascal collecta.

8. M. Tulli Ciceronis Pro Milone, Pro Archia. Additis argumentis Asconi et scholiastae Gronoviani ad Milonianam, scholiastae Bobiensis ad utramque. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendice critica et indicibus instruxit Sixtus Colombo.

9. P. Vergilii Maronis Bucolicon liber. Accedunt carmina Moretum Copa falso Vergilio adtributa. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendice critica instruxit Carolus Pascal.

10. Cornelii Taciti Dialogus de oratoribus. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendice critica et indicibus instruxit Fridericus Carolus Wick.

11. P. Ovidii Nasonis Tristia. Recensuit, praefatus est, brevi appendice critica instruxit Carolus Landi.

12. L. Annaei Senecae Thyestes, Phaedra. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendicem criticam addidit Humbertus Moricca.

13. Phaedri Fabulae. Ad fidem codicis Neapolitani denuo excussit edidit, praefatus est, appendice critica instruxit Dominicus Bassi.

14. T. Macci Plauti Captivi. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendicem criticam et testimonia adiecit Carolus Pascal.

15. P. Vergilii Maronis Catalepton (Priapea et epigrammata), Maecenas, Priapeum "quid hoc novi est." Recensuit, praefatus est, appendicem criticam et indicem verborum addidit Rem. Sabbadini.

16. P. Ovidi Nasonis Artis amatoriae libri tres. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendicem criticam addidit C. Marchesi.

17. Carmina ludicra Romanorum (Pervigilium Veneris, carmen de rosis, Priapeorum libellus. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendicem criticam testimonia adiecit Carolus Pascal.

18. Corneli Taciti Historiarum libri. Ad fidem codicis Medicei recensuit, praefatus est, appendicem criticam addidit Maximus Lenchantin de Gubernatis. Libri I et II.

22. P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos libri I, II, III. 23. — IV, V, VI. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendicem criticam addidit Rem. Sabbadini.

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I.—UNLISTED FRAGMENTS OF AESCHYLUS.

I have here collected, and illustrated by occasional comments, the fragments of Aeschylus that have come to light since the publication of the second edition of Nauck's *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta* in 1889. Here and there, too, additional evidence is now accessible regarding the text of certain fragments already known, while certain others, heretofore grouped among the homeless, are to be freed from further conjecture as to their allocation by the fact that their provenance is now definitely established. In the case of plays whose titles are known, the new items belonging thereto are listed by appropriate numbers under the play in question; otherwise, they are arranged in order under the existing Ἀδηλα or placed after the last number of Nauck's "Incertarum fabularum fragmenta."

The increment to our scant stock of the fragments of Aeschylus is due, for the most part, to Reitzenstein, the master of Greek lexicography, whose minute and laborious investigations now enable scholars to gain an approximately adequate conception of the process of transmission, through the most tortuous channels, of the confused mass of etymological, lexicographical and exegetical statements that have successively passed through various compilations until they reached their final resting-place in the latest Byzantine grammatical encyclopaedias.

Of Aeschylean glosses in Photius' *Lexicon*, as known by the manuscript written at the end of the twelfth century and once owned by Thomas Gale, eighty-five were recorded by Naber in his edition of 1864. Of the beginning of the *Lexicon*, the Galeanus (g) preserves only two leaves, containing the Intro-

duction, A to Aα', and the glosses 'Αγχίνοια to 'Αδιάκριτος. Two further manuscripts have now enlarged our knowledge of this portion:

1. Four leaves of the Codex Atheniensis 1083 (called by Reitzenstein *a*), written in the sixteenth century, and containing the glosses 'Αβραμαῖος to 'Αγάσσει and 'Αγκιστρέει to 'Αδράστεια. (Edited by Fredrich and Wentzel in the *Nachrichten d. Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Göttingen, 1896, pp. 309 f.)

2. Codex Berol. graec. oct. 22, written at the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, and containing (68^r-111^v) the Introduction and the glosses complete from A to 'Απαρνος. (Edited by Reitzenstein [and called by him *b*] in *Der Anfang des Lexikons des Photios*, 1897.)

In his "Inedita poetarum Graecorum fragmenta," which appeared in the *Index lectionum* of the University of Rostock for 1890-1, 1891-2, Reitzenstein excerpted certain readings from the mutilated Codex Vat. graec. 1818, discovered and called A by him. This manuscript, together with the inferior Codex Laur. S. Marci 304 (named B), found by E. Miller in 1864, and from which he published extracts in his *Mélanges de litt. grecque* 1868, constitutes the source of the unpublished *Etymologicum genuinum*, the oldest of the later encyclopaedic compilations recording an awakened interest in classical literature. This work was completed between 800 and 850. Both A and B date from about the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century.

In the absence of any statement to the contrary, all emendations in the passages cited by Photius and the *Etymologicum genuinum* are due to Reitzenstein.

The fragments here assembled from named plays come from the following: Βασσάραι, Κάβειροι (or, probably more correctly, Κάβροι), Μυσοί, Νεανίσκοι, Ὀπλων κρίσις, Προμηθεύς (No. 451 I; which non-extant play of that name, is uncertain), Φινεύς, Ψυχοσταςία. One fragment (54 A) surely comes from the (unnamed) Ἐλευσίνιοι.

ΒΑΣΣΑΡΑΙ 25 A

Παγγαίου γὰρ ἀργυρήλατον
πρῶν' ἀστραπῆς <πίμπλησι> πευκᾶν σέλας

Schol. (Cod. Vat. graec. 909) on Eur. *Rhes.* 922: Αἰσχύλος δὲ ἐν Βασσάrais ἀργύρου φησὶν ἐκεῖ μέταλλα. ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Εὐριπί-

δης μικρὸν ὑποβὰς λέγει (v. 970) 'κρυπτὸς δ' ἐν ἄντροις τῆς (Mugrave, τῆσδ' MSS., τοῖσδ' Schol.) ὑπαργύρου χθονός.' ὁ δὲ Αἰσχύλος οὕτως· 'Παγγαῖον γὰρ ἀργυρήλατον πρῶνες τὸ τῆς ἀστραπῆς πευκᾶεν σέλας.'

The scholion occurs on a loose leaf of the MS. (thirteenth century), which was recognized as fol. 315 by Rabe in *Rhein. Mus.* 63 (1908) 419-422. V. 2 restored by Mekler in *Berl. Phil. Wochenschr.* 28 (1908) 1390. Apart from the metrical difficulty in the line, the juxtaposition of the articles in different case-forms might be defended by *Prom.* 942 τὸν τοῦ τυράννου τοῦ νέου διάκονον, the only instance in Aeschylus.

The first play of the Lycurgeian tetralogy ('*Ἡδωνοί*, *Βασσάραι* or *Βασσαρίδες*, *Νεανίσκοι*, *Λυκοῦργος*) dealt with the vengeance inflicted by Dionysus on Lycurgus, King of the Edoni, for opposition to the introduction of the worship of the god. The second drama treated of the punishment meted out to Orpheus for a like offence. According to the account of Eratosthenes (*Pseudo-Eratosthenes* according to Maass), *Cataster.* 24, p. 140, Orpheus worshipped Helios, whom he also called Apollo, and it was his custom to climb Mt. Pangaeus while it was still night in order that he might behold the rising of the sun. The new fragment pictures Orpheus' ascent by torch-light, and is probably taken from a messenger's report to Dionysus. At the instigation of the angry god the recusant was torn to pieces by the Thracian maenads who bore the name Bassarae. If Orpheus in the play addressed Helios as Apollo, the *Βασσάραι* is the first witness to the Orphic syncretism of Apollo and Helios that was to be emphasized by religious speculation in the course of the fifth century (cp. Eur. *Phaethon*, Frag. 781, 11). According to Kern in *Hermes* 24 (1889) 501, the identification is unknown to the earliest Orphicism. Elsewhere Aeschylus both keeps the two deities distinct and brings them into close conjunction. It was probably in the *Βασσάραι* that the Orphic dogma of the identity of Apollo and Dionysus was proclaimed, concerning which mystic equalization Macrobius *Sat.* 1, 18, 6 says: "Euripides in Licymnio Apollinem Liberumque unum eundemque deum esse significans scribit 'δέσποτα φιλόδαφνε Βάκχε, παῖαν Ἀπολλων εὐλυρε' (Frag. 477). Ad eandem sententiam Aeschylus 'ὁ κωσσεὺς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Βακχεύς, ὁ μάντις (Frag. 341).'" Further on, 1, 18, 17, Macrobius cites a verse of 'Orpheus':

Ἥλιος, ὃν Διόνυσον ἐπικλήσιν καλέονσιν (Abel's *Orphica*, Frag. 169; cp. also Abel's Frag. 7). The worship of Dionysus Sebedius as Helios by the Thracians (Alexander Polyhistor, *F. H. G.* 3. 244, 151) may be the cause or the effect of this assimilation. Sophocles in his *Tereus* (Frag. 523) has Ἥλιε, φιλίπποις Ὀρφεὶ πρόσβιστον σέλας.—Orphic documents in a Thracian sanctuary of Dionysus were mentioned by Heraclides (Schol. Eur. *Alc.* 968). Female worshippers of Orpheus and Dionysus are referred to in Plutarch, *Alex.* 2.—On Orphic myths see Maass, *Orpheus*, pp. 129 f.

ἀργυρήλατον: the silver mines of Mt. Pangaeus are mentioned by Herod. 7. 112, deposits of silver in Thrace by Herod. 5. 17, 5. 23, Eur. *Rhes.* 970, Strabo 7. 331, Frag. 34. Most of the S. E. corner of Macedonia was rich in both silver and gold, though the ancients naturally make more account of the latter metal, c. g., Eur. *Rhes.* 921 στ' ἤλθομεν γῆς χρυσόβωλον ἐς λέπας Πάγγαιον κτλ., Herod. 6. 46, 9. 75, Thuc. 4. 105, Diod. 16. 8, Appian *B. C.* 4. 106.

<πίμπλησι>: (cp. *Hymn Demeter* 189) is better than ἐφλέξε (cp. Eur. *Tro.* 309).

δοτραπῆς: of the flashing of torches, as at Eleusis, Aesch. Frag. 386.

πενκάεν σέλας recalls the MS. reading *Agam.* 288 πεύκη τὸ χρυσοφειγές, ὡς τις ἥλιος, | σέλας παραγγείλασα, Soph. *Trach.* 1198 πευκίνης λαμπάδος σέλας, Eur. *I. T.* 1224 σέλας λαμπάδων.

ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΟΙ 54 A

ὦργα τὸ πρᾶγμα, διεμύδαν' ἤδη νέκυσ

Didymus on Demosth. *Philipp.* xii (xiii) in the Berlin papyrus (No. 9780), second century after Christ, published in *Berliner Klassikertexte* 1 (1904) pp. 66 f. Col. xiv, ll. 12 ff.: καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ τῆς Καδμείας νεκρῶν τῶν πρὸς τὴν ταφὴν ἐτοιμῶς ἐχόντων · 'ὦργα—νέκυσ.'

That the fragment belongs to the Ἐλευσίνιοι follows from Plutarch's *Theseus* 29, where it is set forth that Theseus in conjunction with Adrastus effected the recovery of the bodies of the Argives slain before Thebes, not, as Euripides represented the case in his *Ικέτιδες*, as the result of a victory over the Thebans, but by persuasion.—The graves of the common soldiery

are still shown, Plutarch says, at Eleutherae, while the leaders were buried at Eleusis. The account of Euripides, Plutarch states, is disproved by Aeschylus, in whose *Ἐλευσίνιοι* Theseus is represented as stating these facts.

The *Ἐλευσίνιοι* stood third in the trilogy, whose second member was the *Ἀργεῖοι*, and the first, in all probability, the *Νεμέα*. Others approve the group *Ἀργεῖοι*, *Ἐλευσίνιοι*, *Ἐπίγονοι*.

ὄργα: the quotation is introduced in the course of a discussion on the meaning of *ὄργας*, in which Didymus defines *ὄργᾶν* as τὸ πρὸς δτιοῦν ὁρμὴν εἰς ἐτοιμότητα ἔχειν. See on 451 F below. Cp. *ὄργα μαθεῖν* Cho. 454.

πρᾶγμα: the 'business,' the 'matter in hand.' Cp. Cho. 872, Eum. 488.

διεμύδαν: cp. Hesych. *μυδαίνει · σήπει* and *μυδῆσαι · σαπῆναι*, Photius *μυδιᾶν · σήπεσθαι*. Soph. *Ant.* 410 has *μυδῶν σῶμα*.

ΗΑΙΑΔΕΣ 72

ᾠρουσε κρήνης ἀφθονεστέρα λιβάς

Reitzenstein *Index lect.* 1890-91, p. 5, from Vat. Graec. 1818 of the *Etymologicum genuinum*, s. v. *ἀφθονέστατον · . . . ἀρχέστατον . . . αἰδοιέστατον . . . τὸ ἀφθονότερον οἶον 'ὄρα σε κρήνης ἀφθονέστερα λιβασί,' ταῦτα ποιητικά εἰσιν κατ' ἔθος Ἰώνων γινόμενα* (from Philoxenus). Reitzenstein emended *ὄρα σε* to *ᾠρουσε*, *λιβασί* to *λιβάς*. 'Ηλ<ιάσιν>,' following Athenaeus 10. 424 D: τὸ ἐν Ἠλιάσιν Αἰσχύλου *ἀφθονέστερον λίβα.* *ἀφθονεστέρα* is due to Crusius (cp. *Lex. Sabbait.* *ἀφθονεστέραν εἶπεν Αἰσχύλος*).

ΚΑΒΙΡΟΙ 96 A

ξυμφορά

Lexicon Oyrilli (Cod. Messanensis S. Salvatoris 167, twelfth cent.), Reitzenstein *Index lect.* 1890-'91, p. 5: *ξυμφορά · συντυχία · καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγαθοῦ τάσσεται ὡς παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ ἐν Καβεῖροις* (Καμείροις MS., corr. Reitz.) *καὶ ἐπὶ κακοῦ παρὰ Σοφοκλεί.*

The definition recalls Diogenian; cp. Hesychius *ξυμφορά · συντυχία. καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγαθοῦ τάσσεται καὶ ἐπὶ κακοῦ.* Eustathius 647. 37 *καὶ ἡ συμφορά δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀποτροπαιὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγαθή, κτλ.* The original neutral sense of *συμφορά* (schol. Aristoph. *Eq.* 655 *μέσον δὲ ὄνομα ἡ συμφορά*) appears both in Ionic (Herod. 7. 49) and in Attic. Used of a happy event, the word is more common in Aeschylus

than in Sophocles (*El.* 1230). It occurs in that sense, *e. g.*, in Simonides 14, Euripides *Alc.* 1155, *Ion* 536.

ΜΥΣΟΙ 145 A

εἶδον καλπάζοντας ἐν αἰχμαῖς

Photius ed. Reitzenstein 113. 14: ἀνακαλπάζει · τινὲς μὲν ὡς οὐ δόκιμον ἐφυλάξαντο τὴν φωνήν, Αἰσχύλος δὲ ἐχρήσατο Μυσοῖς ὡς δόκιμον · λέγει γάρ · ‘εἶδον — αἰχμαῖς.’ ὁμοίως Σοφοκλῆς, Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Πλάτων καὶ ἑτεροι. Because of the use of τὴν φωνήν, Reitzenstein thinks the passage is probably derived from Phrynichus’ Σοφιστικὴ προπαρασκευή (*Frag.* 181 de Borries). Cp. Bekker *Anecd.* 5. 25, 9. 12, 67. 20, etc.

It is not surprising to find mention of the gait of a horse in the author of the passage *Cho.* 794 ff.; but whether trotting or galloping is here meant is uncertain. Pausanias 5. 9. 1-2 refers to the κάλπης δρόμος with mares at Olympia, in the last course of which the riders leaped down and ran beside their horses, still holding on to their bridles, “just as the ‘Mounters’ still do”; and in Plutarch *Alex.* 6 παρακαλπάσας probably means ‘running alongside.’ ἀνακαλπάζειν is attested for the first time in Photius. For late testimony as to the simple verb see Hippiatrica 120, 128.

The passage is lyric. Reitzenstein suggests ᾄδων (ending a glyconic) with the remainder as a second pherecratic.

ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΙ 149 A

πρὸς δ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμφιλαφῇ πῆματ’ ἔχων ἀθανάτων

Photius ed. Reitzenstein 102. 13: ἀμφιλαφῇ κακά · ξένως εἴρηται Αἰσχύλῳ Νεανίσκοις · ‘πρὸς . . . ἀθανάτων.’

For ξένως *b* has Αξένως (cp. 100. 10 Αοῖον in *b* for οῖον). The passage, according to Reitzenstein, probably comes from Dorotheos, who is cited in *Et. Magn.* 87. 49, Phot. 92. 9. In Photius *Bibl.* cod. 156 mention is made of ξένως εἰρημέναι λέξεις, of which Dorotheos may have been the compiler.

πρὸς: probably to be taken adverbially. Cp. *Prom.* 73, 929 (πρὸς δέ), *Cho.* 301. ἐπὶ τοῖς: as ω 277. ἀμφιλαφῇ: *Ag.* 1015, *Cho.* 331; ἀμφιλαφές · πολὺ καὶ ἄφθονον Timaeus *Lex. Plat.* Metre: choriambic tetrameter, cp. *Pers.* 633-634 = 640-641 (with unusual caesura).

NIOBH 167 A (*Αδηλον 419)

αὐλῶν

Schol. (Cod. Laur. 86, 7) on Aelian *H. A.* 6. 11, p. 143. 20 αὐλῶνες οἱ ἐπ' εὐθείας τόποι Αἰσχύλος Νιόβη (αἰσχυνιόβη MS.). καὶ τὴν τάφρον δ' αὐλῶνα ὁ αὐτός. See De Stefani in *Stud. ital. di fil. cl.* 7 (1899) 414. Cp. Hesychius αὐλῶνες · οἱ ἐπ' εὐθείας τόποι. φάραγγες. <ῆ> τόποι πλατεῖς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη, and αὐλῶνα · Αἰσχύλος καὶ τὴν τάφρον καὶ τὴν πυράν. Eustathius 1157. 36 Αἰσχύλος δέ φησι καὶ τὴν τάφρον αὐλῶνα. Cp. Frag. inc. 326.

ΞΑΝΤΡΙΑΙ 172 A (*Αδηλον 413)

ἀναγκόδακρυς

Ascribed simply to Aeschylus by Phrynichus in Bekker *Anecd.* 20. 13; Αἰσχύλος Ξαντρίαι Photius ed. Reitzenstein 108. 12. Cp. *Agam.* 794 ἀγέλαστα πρόσωπα βιαζόμενοι.

ΟΠΑΩΝ ΚΡΙΣΙΣ 178 A

καὶ διὰ πνευμόνων θερμὸν ἄησιν ὕπνον

Photius ed. Reitzenstein 39. 7 : ἄησιν · ἀναπνέι. Αἰσχύλος ἐν 'Οπλων κρίσει · 'καὶ . . . ὕπνον.'

Cp. ἄησιν · ἀναπνέι Bekk. *Anecd.* 349. 2 from the sixth *Lexicon Seguerianum*, Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων, which is based on a Cyril-glossary, and known to be an immediate source of Photius. Elsewhere I find this explanation only in the (confused) scholium ἀναπνέει, ἀνατέλλει on Oppian *Hal.* 1. 154 ὅσσον ἄησιν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄγριος ἀστήρ. ἀναπνέι may have the signification either of ἐκπνέι or of εἰσπνέι. So far as I can discover, ἄημι is used only in this passage of Aeschylus with reference to respiration; but a like assimilation to the kindred idea of πνέω is seen in the encroachment of *flare* on the sphere of *spirare*, though the Latin verbs have more points of connection than the Greek verbs. L. and S. would apparently restrict the range of πνέω (used of physical breath) to 'breathing hard,' 'panting,' which is the force of ἀσθμαίνων in the passage (K 496) describing the nightmare of Rhesus; and it is not impossible that in the quotation from Aeschylus ἄησιν may have such a meaning, especially if the verse has reference to the fevered sleep of Ajax preceding or following his madness consequent upon the unjust award to

Odysseus of the arms of Achilles. But the restriction of the Lexicon is ill-advised. *πνέοντε* in N 387, it is true, does refer to the hard breathing of horses (cp. P 501), but *Cho.* 621 ff., the other passage cited, is not in point: *Νίσσον ἀθανάτας τριχὺς | νοσφίσας' ἀπροβούλως | πνέονθ' ἁ κυνόφρων ἵπνῳ*. Here, to my feeling, *πνέονθ' ἵπνῳ* has greater pathos than *εἶδοντα*, so that, for the point in question, the retention of *ἀπροβούλως* and the rejection of Porson's *νοσφίσασα προβούλως*, is immaterial, though on other grounds I have no hesitation in taking the adverb with *πνέονθ' ἵπνῳ*. Nisus lay breathing unsuspectingly in sleep when his immortal locks were shorn by his daughter, who had none of the compunction of Lady Macbeth: "Had he not resembled my father as he slept, I had done 't." The locution *ἄησιν ἵπνον* is more striking and more vigorous than *πνέονθ' ἵπνῳ*, and the stronger verb is suited to fevered sleep (cp. *θερμαὶ νόσοι*, Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 66). The construction recalls Theocr. 24. 47 *δμῶας δὴ τότ' αὔσεν ἵπνον βαρὺν ἐκφυσῶντας*, Verg. *Aen.* 9. 326 *toto proflabat pectore somnum* (a periphrasis for 'snoring,' as Servius thinks it necessary to inform us), imitated in Statius *Theb.* 2. 76 *anhelum proflabant sub luce deum*, Maximianus *Eleg.* 4. 41 *toto me pectore somnum prospicit efflantem*, and Propertius 1. 3. 7 *talis visa mihi mollem spirare quietem Cynthia*. It will be observed that these examples are parallels in construction to *ἄησιν ἵπνον*, not to *πνέονθ' ἵπνῳ*.

Further confirmation of the use of *ἄημι* in the meaning 'breathe' may be sought in the etymologically connected *ἀάζω* (*ἀ-φα-δ-ιω*), which appears only in Aristotle's *Meteor.* 367 b 2 (Fobes' text) and in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Probl.* 964 a 10 ff., where a distinction is set up between *φυσῶ* 'expel the breath in puffs' and *ἀάζω* 'expel the breath in a single expiration (*hiante ore*). In the first of these passages Aristotle says οὐ δοκοῦσι δ' οἱ ἀνεμοὶ εἶναι θερμοὶ διὰ τὸ κινεῖν τὸν ἀέρα πλήρη πολλῆς ὄντα καὶ ψυχρὰς ἀτμίδος, ὥσπερ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ διὰ τοῦ στόματος φυσώμενον· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐγγύθεν μὲν ἐστι θερμόν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὅταν ἀάζωμεν, ἀλλὰ δὲ ὀλιγόττητα οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐπίδηλον, πόρρωθεν δὲ ψυχρόν διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν τοῖς ἀνέμοις (cp. Alex. Aphrod. *Probl.* 1. 65 p. 106). In the latter passage we read: διὰ τί ἐκ τοῦ στόματος καὶ θερμόν καὶ ψυχρόν πνέουσιν; φυσῶντι μὲν γὰρ ψυχρόν, ἀάζουσι δὲ θερμόν. σημείον δὲ ὅτι θερμαίνει, ἔαν πλησίον προσάγῃ τις τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ στόματος. ἢ ἀμφοτέρως ὁ ἀήρ κινούμενος ψυχρός· ὁ δὲ φυσῶν κινεῖ τὸν

ἀέρα οὐκ ἀθρόως, ἀλλὰ διὰ στενοῦ τοῦ στόματος · ὀλίγον οὖν ἐκπνέων πολλὴν κινεῖ τὸν θύραθεν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ θερμὸν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος οὐ φαίνεται δι' ὀλιγότητα. ὁ δὲ δάζων ἀθρόον ἐκπνέει · διὸ θερμὸν. ἔστι γὰρ φυσισμοῦ τῷ (τὸ ?) διαφέρειν τῇ συστροφῇ · ὁ δ' ἀσπμὸς ἀθρόου ἐκπνευσίς.

While δάζω thus in a measure supports the use of ἀημι 'breathe,' it may be doubted whether it is an old formation. The absence of contraction suggests the influence of ἀημι and the termination has a late look. Additional confirmation of ἀημι meaning 'breathe' is not to be sought, with Curtius *Etymol.*⁵ 387, in the substantive ἰσθμα, as it is commonly accented. Were this accent correct we should expect ἰσθμα in Homer. Herodian, however, wrote ἰσθμα and the word, instead of being connected with ἀημι, has other possible derivations, the most probable being from $\sqrt{\text{an}}$ in ἄνεμος.

The verb δίζω, which was used by the comic poet Nicochares (Kock 1. 774, Frag. 19) according to Bekker *Anecd.* 348. 18 (cp. Hesychius and Photius 38. 4 Reitz.) in the same meaning as δάζω (τὸ διὰ τοῦ στόματος ἀθρόως ἐκπνέειν δίζειν λέγουσιν Ἀττικοί), is simply onomatopoetic and therefore unconnected with δάζω; as is indicated by the further statement in the definition: μιμούμενοι τὸν ἦχον τοῦ πνεύματος. δίζω is to utter the sound δ (cp. οἰμέζω, φεύζω, etc.) in a total exhalation of breath or to 'groan' as in Sophocles (Hesychius, Photius *l. l.*). Eustathius 983. 65 (on Ξ 261) says δίζειν τὸ ἀθρόως προσπνέειν τῷ στόματι θερμὸν, possibly through muddling the verb with δίζειν 'parch' or by recollection of Aristotle's definition of δάζειν. See also the confused statement in Suidas, s. v. ἥλιος.

Metre: a dochmiac (— υ υ — υ — as *Sept.* 234 and often) followed by — υ υ — υ υ υ, apparently not a dochmiac. At least this form is (despite Seidler § 28) probably not found elsewhere in Aeschylus; and is very rare in Sophocles (*O. T.* 1345).

ΦΙΝΕΥΕ 258 A

ἀνηστis δ' οὐκ ἀποστατεί γόος

Etymol. genuiunum, s. v. ἀνηστis · ὁ ἄσιτος. Κρατῖνος ἐν Διονυσιαλέξανδρῳ 'φοιτῆς ἐπὶ δειπνὸν ἀνηστis' (Frag. 45 Kock) καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Φινεῖ 'ἀνηστis — γόος' (ἐν — — γόος om. B).

The trimeter lacks, for its first foot, a word of iambic value to be taken closely with ἀνηστis.—Aeschylus is fond of ἀποστατέω. Reitzenstein compares Frag. 301 ἀπάτης δικαίας οὐκ ἀποστατεί θεός.

ΦΙΝΕΥΕ 258 B

ἄρπαγοι χεροῖν

Schol. on Hom. *Il.* H 76 in *Oxyrh. Pap.* 1087. 3, Vol. 8 (1911) 103, late first century B. C.: τὸ ἄρπαγος, ἐνθεν ἐπλήθυνεν Αἰσχύλος ἐν Φινεῖ 'ἄρπαγοι χ<ε>ροῖν,' καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Φινεῖ α' 'χερσὶν ἀρπάγους.'

ἄρπαγος for ἄρπαξ is thus shown not to be a 'forma recentioris Graecismi,' as it was described by Dindorf in the Thesaurus on the basis of the only occurrences then known (Scholia Dorvilliana on Aristoph. *Plut.* 800, Arcadius 102. 9). For the shift to the O-declension, cp. φύλαξ φυλακός, ψάρ ψαρός, κίνδυν Aeol. κίνδυνος, μάρτυρ μάρτυρος, τέρην τέρενος. From *Eum.* 50 it is clear that Aeschylus represented the Harpies as winged women, as they are depicted in archaic and classical art, and probable that he conceived them as having human hands, though χεροῖν in the fragment is not decisive on the latter point. Apoll. Rhod. 2. 188 regards the Harpies as having γαμφηλαί, a conception that must be Hellenistic as well as Roman.

ΨΥΧΟΣΤΑΣΙΑ 280 A

ὄα

Lexicon Messanense de iota ascripto (a fragment of Orus περὶ ὀρθογραφίας), published by Rabe in *Rhein. Mus.* 47 (1892) 404-413 from Cod. S. Salvatoris 118 (thirteenth century) in the Royal Library at Messina, fol. 283 verso, l. 3: <... καὶ συνα->λοιφῇ <ψα. ἔστι δὲ> καὶ διὰ μόνου τοῦ ὄ, ἡ <ὄα. Αἰσχύλος> Ψυχοστασίᾳ.

Heretofore attested only in the *Persae* and called Περσικὸν θρήνημα by the scholiast of the Medicean on verse 117. In each of the six occurrences of the word, M has ὄα, the Farnese MS. (Triclinius) ὄά, and so apparently the other later MSS., though explicit statements are lacking.

ΑΔΗΛΩΝ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΩΝ

319

<ει>τ' οὖν ἀσαλῆς θέοθεν μανία

Etymol. genuinum s. v. ἀσαλῆς · ὁ ἀφρόντιστος¹ ἢ ἡ μηδενὸς φροντί-ζουσα. Αἰσχύλος τουνασαλῆς θέοθεν μανίαι.² εἴρηται δὲ παρὰ τὴν σάλην

ἢ σημαίνει τὴν φροντίδα, ἀσαλῆς ὁ ἀμέριμνος. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος. καὶ γὰρ ἀσαλέαν Σώφρων τὴν ἀμεριμνίαν καὶ ἀλογιστίαν καλεῖ.

ἀσαλῆς μανία. ἢ μηδενὸς φροντίζουσα. σάλη γὰρ ἡ φροντίς· οὕτως Αἰσχύλος. ἐκ τοῦ λεξικοῦ τοῦ ῥητορικοῦ.³

1 ἀφροντίς AB. 2 Αἰσχύλος—μανίαι om. B. 3 ἐκ—ῥητορικοῦ om. B. The 'Rhetorical Lexicon' is Bekker's sixth *Lexicon Seguerianum*, Συναγωγή λέξεων χρησίμων, cp. *Anecd.* 450. 28.

The first gloss appears in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (151. 49), which took over much material in a reduced form from the *Etymologicum genuinum*. To complete the anapaestic dimeter Nauck (*Tragicæ dictionis index*) read εἰτ'. Reitzenstein, rejecting Ἰοῦν, suggested υ υ νοῦν.

354

Etymol. genuinum s. v. ἀπάργματα (schol. on Apoll. Rhod. 4. 477). . . ἦν γάρ τι νόμιμον τοῖς δολοφονήσασιν ἀφοσιῶσαι τὸν φόνον διὰ τοῦ δολοφονηθέντος ἀκρωτηριασμοῦ . . . ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἐγένοντο τοῦ αἵματος καὶ ἀπέπνυν Αἰσχύλος ἐν ταῖς Περραιβίσις ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἐν τῇ περὶ Λαίου. B omits ὅτι—Λαίου. A has τοῖς πρόσλῃβισιν and τῷ ἑλατῷ: (ἐν τῇ Λαίῳ ? Reitz.).

The notice of the *Etymol. genuinum*, more explicit than that of the *Etymol. Magn.* 118. 31, rendered it possible for Reitzenstein to refer Frag. 354 ἀποπτύσαι δεῖ καὶ καθήρασθαι στόμα either to the Περραιβίδες (186 A) or to the Λαῖος (122 A).

403, New Fragment (403 A), 284

Βοῦράν θ' ἱερὰν καὶ κεραυνίας ῥύπας
Δύμην <θ'> Ἑλίκην ἢδ' Αἰγειραν
τὴν τ' αἰπεινὴν ζαθέαν Ὠλενον

V. 1 (Frag. 403) from Strabo 8. 387 (Cod. Vat. Palimpsest.). Vv. 2, 3, according to Strazzulla *dopo lo Strabone del Cozza-Luzzi* (Messina, 1901, p. 31), with the reading Δύμην <Ἑ>λίκην Αἰγειραν ἢ δ' Αἰγία <χῶ>ραν τὴν ταπεινὴν <ν> ζαθέαν Ὠλενον, emended by Wilamowitz in *Hermes* 40 (1905) 131. V. 3 (Frag. 284) from Steph. Byz. 707. 13.—The fragment presents a strange combination of trochaics with anapaests. ὄρεϊαν (rejected by Wilamowitz) for ἱερὰν would help V. 1 (though such close association of iambic trimeter and anapaestic dimeter would be unusual), and provide an appropriate designation for the massive

hill or mountain of Bura (*Idra*). If *ιεράν* is correct, the epithet may be due to the worship of Heracles there.

451 A

αἰδνόν

Photius ed. Reitzenstein 47. 12: *αἰδνόν*: (*αἰδνον* *b*)· τὸ ἀφανιστικόν. οὕτως Αἰσχύλος.

Cp. Hesychius *αἰδνον* (*sic*): μέλαν ἢ ἀφανιστικόν, and *αἰδνή*· σκοτεινή. ἀφανιστικός is used in Schol. Aesch. *Theb.* 145 (Λύκειος γενοῦ) and Schol. *Pers.* 257 (δαῖα). *αἰδνός* appears in the MSS. of Hesiod *Theog.* 860 οὔρεος ἐν βήρσσησιν αἰδνῆς παιπαλοέσσης, where its meaning seems to be 'dim,' 'dark' (Schol. ταῖς ἀφανέσιν) or, possibly, 'boundless.' On the authority of two MSS., Viteb. 2 and 3, of Tzetzes on Lycophron *Alex.* 688, Flach and Rzach adopt Αἰτνης and παιπαλοέσσης. An unknown melic poet (possibly Pindar) has νυκτὸς αἰδνᾶς κοίρανος, Bergk *P. L. G.* 3. 719, Apoll. Rhod. 1. 329 αἰδνὴ λιγνίς, which recalls λιγνὸν μέλαιναν *Sept.* 494.

451 B

ἄμαξα

Photius ed. Reitzenstein 86. 24: <ᾶ>μαξα· ἡ ναὺς παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς, καὶ ἴσως εἰκάζουσιν αὐτὴν ἀμάξῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀμᾶν τὴν θάλασσαν· ἢ λέξις παρ' Αἰσχύλου.

Aeschylus will not have used *ἄμαξα* for 'ship' without some defining addition in the form of an adjective or genitive; cp. ξὺν ὄχῳ ταχυήρει *Suppl.* 32, λινόπτερα ναυτίλων ὀχήματα *Prom.* 468, ναῖον ὄχημα *Eur. I. T.* 410, ὄχημα ναός *Soph. Tr.* 656, ναῖαν ἀπήνην *Eur. Med.* 1122, πλωταῖς ἀπήναισι Bergk *P. L. G. Adesp.* 117 = Nauck *T. G. F. Adesp.* 142, 'volitantem flamme currum' Catullus 64. 9. Cp. ἁλὸς ἱπποὶ δ 708.

451 C

ἁμαρτάδας

Photius ed. Reitzenstein 88. 7: ἁμαρτάδας (ἀμάρτημον *b*)· Αἰσχύλος καὶ ἀμάρτια Πλάτων (Comicus).

Cp. Hesychius ἁμαρτάδας· ἀμαρτίας; Suidas ἀμαρτίαν οἱ Ἀττικοί, ἀμαρτάδα Ἡρόδοτος (1. 91, 8. 140. 1) καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἴωνες (Hippocrates 2. 306 Littré).

451 D

ἀμυνάνδρως

Photius ed. Reitzenstein 96. 15 : ἀμυνάνδρως · Αἰσχύλος, ἀμύνανδρον δὲ Σοφοκλῆς.

Cp. Hesychius ἀμύνανδρος · δυνάμενος ἄνδρας αἰνέσθαι.

451 E

ἀμυντρόν

Photius ed. Reitzenstein 96. 15 : ἀμυντρόν καὶ ἀμυνάνδρως Αἰσχύλος.

ἀμύντωρ is Epic, Lyric, and Tragic, ἀμυντήρ is Aristotelian.

451 F

ὀργάζω

Photius ed. Reitzenstein 64. 7 : ἀκοῦσαι ὀργῶ σημαίνει δὲ τὸ ὀργᾶν <τὸ> πᾶν ἐπαίρεσθαι πρὸς τὸ πρᾶξαι τι ἢ ἀκοῦσαι (cp. Bekk. *Anecd.* 7. 3). καθόλου δὲ ποικίλως χρῶνται τῷ ὀνόματι · καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ βρέξαι, ὡς Ἀρχιλόχος, Αἰσχύλος δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παίοντα ἐξελαύνειν καὶ μαλάττειν τίθῃσι, Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Αἰγεί <φησι> τὸν Θησέα στρέφοντα καὶ μαλάττοντα τοὺς λύγους ποιῆσαι δεσμὰ τῷ ταύρῳ · λέγει δὲ οὕτως · ‘κλωστήρσι χειρῶν ὀργάσας κατήνυσε σειραῖα δεσμὰ’ (Frag. 25 Jebb-Pearson, cp. 482, 787). καὶ Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ἐν τετάρτῳ (64) ἀντὶ τοῦ μαλάξας κέχρηται τῷ ὀργάσας κτλ. From Phrynichus’ *Σοφιστικὴ προπαρασκευή*.

It cannot be determined from Photius whether Aeschylus used ὀργάζω or ὀργῶ in the meaning ‘soften.’ Elsewhere at least the former verb is generally employed in this sense. In Herod. 4. 64, cited by L. and S. for ὀργῶ ‘tan,’ ὀργάσας is adopted by the most recent editors from A² B², R having ὀργήσας, the other MSS. ὀργίσας. Hesychius has, however, ὑποργηθεῖσα · ὑποχρισθεῖσα. See Timaeus’ *Lexicon* ed. Ruhnken, pp. 179, 193.

451 G

ἀκμήν δ’ ὄσα

τὰ κύμβαλ’ ἤχει

Lexicon Vaticanum (Cod. Vat. graec. 12, fifteenth century), Reitzenstein in *Index lectionum* 1892–93, p. 4, 8 : ἀκμήν · ἐπιρρημα- <τικῶς> Αἰσχύλος καὶ Μένανδρος · ‘ἀκμήν δὲ ὄσα τὰ κύμβαλα ἤχει’ καὶ ‘ἀκμήν ἐκείνος ἐνσκενάζετο,’ Κρατῖνος μέντοι τῷ ἀκμήν ἐπιρρηματικῶς μὲν, ἀντὶ <δὲ> τοῦ ἀκμαίως ἐχρήσατο.

ἀκμήν in the signification of ἔτι is stated to occur in no Attic writer except Xenophon by Phrynichus, Moeris, and Thomas Magister; and this use is generally regarded by the ancient Atticists as characteristic of the later language. Suidas, however, appeals to Sophocles *Phil.* 12 (wrongly) and to Hyperides; and the Antiatticista (Bekk. 77) makes the same claim for the orator, whose extant works do not contain the word.

Lobeck (*Phrynichus* 123) contends that ἀκμήν has two chief significations, which are often confused: (1) the older and original meaning = ἄρτι 'just now' and (2) the later meaning 'still.' This is disputed by Krumbacher in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift* 27 (1884) 506, and to the effect that the only meaning is 'still,' even in Xen. *Anab.* 4, 3, 26 and Isocr. 1, 3, where the text is often changed.

451 H

. . . ν > εότικτα δ' ὑπὸ . . . ηρο εικορω

Demetrius Lacon, the Epicurean, in *Par. Hercul.* 1012, col. 23: καὶ Ἀριστο<φάνης ὁ γ>ραμ<μα>τικός εὐ<ρε πα>ρ' Αἰσχύλῳ τοῦτ' ἐν ν > εότικτα δ' ὑπὸ . . . HPO ΕΙΚΟΡΩ.

See Crönert in Wessely's *Studien zur Paläographie und Papyruskunde* 6 (1906) 120. Crönert thinks the title of Demetrius' treatise was possibly Περί τινων ἀλόγως Ἐπικούρῳ προστετριμμένων.

451 I

. ων δυσκελάδων

Anon. on Metres in *Oxyrh. Pap.* ccxx, col. xi. 2, vol. 2 (1899) p. 46, probably from the early part of the second century B. C.: ὁποῖον ἐν τῷ Προμηθεὶ τίθησι πάλιν Αἰσχύ<λος ο>ύτως · ' < > ων δυσκελάδων . '

<τ>άδε πάσχειν ἐθέλεις in the same passage may also, as Grenfell and Hunt suggest, be taken from Aeschylus. The meter is υ υ υ υ υ -, called in col. xii the Parthenean.—From the Προμηθεὺς Ἀνόμενος, Πυρφόρος, or Πυρκαεύς the satyr-play of the trilogy Φινεύς, Πέρσαι, Γλαῦκος. Wilamowitz conjectures <ἐρί>δων.

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II.—EPICUREAN DETERMINISM IN THE ÆNEID.

Vergil was somewhat over twenty years of age when, caught in the intellectualistic movement then sweeping Italy, he threw aside his law studies and fled to Naples where Siro and Philodemus were planting the "garden" of Epicurus.

Nos ad beatos vela mittimus portus
Magni petentes docta dicta Sironis.

Of the life in the garden, where he now remained for many years, we catch just a glimpse here and there in the fragments of Philodemus, who once speaks of those that "gather at Naples to lead the life of philosophic inquiry with Siro at Herculaneum," and again, probably after Siro's death, addresses among his own listeners several of Vergil's friends by name, including apparently the poet himself.¹ It is doubtless this community of students that Cicero has in mind when in the *De Fin.* I, 65, he says: "At vero Epicurus . . . quam magnos quantaque amoris conspiratione consentientes tenuit amicorum greges! *Quod fit etiam nunc ab Epicureis.*"

In the *Ciris* Vergil called this school the *Cecropius hortulus*. The term was appropriate since after the death of Phaedrus when Patro had not been strong enough to uphold the position of the Athenian Κῆρος² the prestige of the school had gone westward with all else, and Siro and Philodemus, the leaders of the Syrian branch of the school, had succeeded in founding a new home at Naples. Vergil's sixth Eclogue, addressed to a fellow-student Quintilius Varus, is a fitting tribute to his master:

Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta
Semina terrarumque animaeque marisque fuissent.

The music of that song of creation the poet never forgot.

Nevertheless, Vergilian commentators noticing the Stoic imagery and phraseology of the eschatological passage in the sixth book of the *Æneid* have generally concluded that Vergil in his mature years rejected the Epicurean for the Stoic faith.

¹ See Hendrickson, *Am. Jour. Phil.* 1918, p. 35.

² Cf. Cic. *Ad Fam.* XIII 1.

Such is the view held for instance by Norden in his edition of the sixth book: "Vergil's youth fell in the enthusiastic days of the revolution; at that time he like thousands of others thought that he could find a retreat from the storms of life in the peaceful harbor of the Epicurean philosophy. But through the Augustan restoration the world seemed to be placed upon surer foundations again. . . . And so Vergil like many others turned from a *negative* to a positive faith."⁸ Sellar, Conington, Heinze and Glover also assume in their Vergilian studies that Vergil subsequently adopted Stoicism. A more consistent interpretation of the *Æneid* seems to me attainable on the hypothesis that the eschatological scene of the sixth book—which by the way is hardly Stoic—was adopted as a *mythos* for purposes of plot, and that the poet continued, while writing the *Æneid*, in the faith which he had avowed with enthusiasm in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*.

To call the Epicureanism of Vergil's youth a "negative" creed as compared with Stoicism, is not this to miss completely its significance to the Romans? Our sophisticated age readily puts its finger upon the flaws of Epicurean logic, and our scientists express amazement at the Master's ignorance of Physics. But the Roman neophyte must be judged from his own past and not from the viewpoint of the modern expert. Untrained in metaphysical practice, ignorant of the tools and methods of exact science he had been granted no answers to his growing curiosity about nature except those offered by a naïve mythology which necessarily vanished into mists at the first critical inspection. Stoicism had first been brought over by Greek teachers as a possible guide, but the Roman, now trained by his extraordinary career in world politics to think in terms of experience, could have but little patience with a metaphysical system which constantly took refuge in a faith in aprioristic logic that had already been successfully challenged by two centuries of skeptics. The Epicurean at least kept his feet on the ground, appealed to the practical man's faith in his own senses and plausibly propped his hypotheses with analogous illustrations, oftentimes approaching very close to the cogent methods

⁸ Norden, *Aeneis*, Buch VI, p. 4, cf. p. 153.



of a new inductive logic.⁴ He rested his case at least on the processes of argumentation that the Roman daily applied in the law courts and the Senate and not to flights of metaphysical reasoning. He came with a gospel of illumination to a race eager for light, opening vistas into an infinity of worlds marvelously created by processes that the average man beheld in his daily walks. Could anything be more "positive" than this?

If it be objected that the end of all was fatalism, Vergil may well have answered that he had nowhere else been offered anything but fatalism; his native orthodoxy had never pretended to grant anything but a crude animism that expressed its theory of after-life in an annual offering of milk and wine to spirits that appeared in serpents' form to drink the offering, while Stoicism held to an irrefragable causal nexus and a final nirvana that offered scant satisfaction to the inbred Roman love of Gloria. Epicureanism at least made some account of man as a free agency while life lasted.

To the early Roman devotee also the ethical prejudice against Epicureanism seemed of little moment since his ethics had never before been necessarily dependent upon his creed. Its sanction rested rather on his ideas of family relationships, his view of his position in the state, and in his constitutional inheritance. He had never been taught to look to his religion or his philosophy to guide his conduct. And if the criticism were pressed home, it satisfied his sense of reason to appeal to the exemplary life of Epicurus himself. The works of Lucretius show how oblivious the Roman could be of the implication of immorality that the Greeks attached to this faith; could any pagan reveal a more genuine enthusiasm for righteousness than he?

Furthermore it is very doubtful whether the Romans gave much attention to the claim of Epicureanism to free men from the dread of hell. That fear could hardly have had any significance to a people whose religion did not even recognize it. Lucretius does indeed repeat his Master's words in this respect, but he may have been induced by the fallacious supposition that man's defensive instincts were somehow connected with a fear

⁴Cicero calls the inductive method *similitudine et transiione percipere* (*De Nat. Deor.* I 105) translating the Greek phrase *μετάβασις καὶ ὁμοίωσις* of the Epicureans.

of punishment, or he may have spent much time of his life at the school at Naples where one observed Greeks rather than Romans. Later the striking poetry of Lucretius' third book must have kept the argument alive at Rome, but its recurrence must be viewed rather as a literary reminiscence than as a sound observation based on Roman experience. This aspect of the new creed could hardly have been the real source of fascination to the Romans.

It was rather the capacity of the Epicurean philosophy to free the imagination, to lift man out of a trivial mythology into a world of infinite visions, and to satisfy man's curiosity regarding the universe with tangible answers that attracted⁵ the Romans of Vergil's day to the new philosophy. Their experience was not unlike that of numberless men of the last generation who first escaped from the puerile cosmology of nonconformist orthodoxy by way of popularized versions of Darwinism pronounced by the experts indeed as pseudoscientific and wholly inadequate in logic. It was in fact the very positivism of Epicureanism that attracted the thousands of Romans. There is no suspicion of "negation" in the tribute to Siro in the sixth Eclogue, nor in the paean to Epicurus in the Georgics. And even in the *Æneid* when in search of a worthy theme for the banquet of Dido, the poet gives to Iopas the song of creation that Siro had sung.

Vergil was forty years of age, and not many from his death, when he published the Georgics, and the repetition of his creed in the first *Æneid* ought to warn us that his enthusiasm for the study of *Rerum natura* did not die. Indeed the *Æneid* is full of Epicurean phrases and notions. The atoms of fire are struck out of the flint (VI, 6), the atoms of light are emitted from the sun (VII, 527, and VIII, 23), early men were born *duro robore* and lived like those described in the fifth book of Lucretius (VIII, 320), there are still compliments for Memmius (V, 117), and Conington finds almost two hundred reminiscences of Lucretius in the *Æneid*, the proportion increasing rather than decreasing in the later books.⁶

⁵ Cf. Benn, *The Greek Philosophers*,⁷ pp. 403, 454.

⁶ Servius VI 264, makes the explicit statement: *ex maiore parte, Sironem, id est, magistrum Epicureum sequitur.*

It is, however, in the interpretation of the word *fatum* and the rôle played by the gods⁷ that the test of Vergil's philosophy is usually applied. The modern equivalent of *fatum* is, as Guyau⁸ has said, *determinism*. Determinism was accepted by both schools but with a difference. To the Stoic, *fatum* is a synonym of providence whose popular name is Zeus. The Epicurean also accepts *fatum* as governing the universe, but it is not teleological, and Zeus is not identified with it but is, like man, subordinated to it. Again, the Stoic is consistently fatalistic. Even man's moral obligations, which are admitted, imply no real freedom in the shaping of results, for though man has the choice between pursuing his end voluntarily (which is virtue) or kicking against the pricks (which is vice), the sum total of his accomplishments is not altered by his choice: *ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt*. On the other hand, Vergil's teacher, while he affirms the casual nexus for the governance of the universe: *nec sanctum numen fati protollere fines / posse neque adversus naturae foedera niti* (Lucr. V, 309), posits a spontaneous initiative in the soul-atoms of man: *quod fati foedera rumpat / ex infinito ne causam causa sequatur* (Lucr. II, 254). If then Vergil were a Stoic his Jupiter should be omnipotent and omniscient and the embodiment of *fatum*, and his human characters must be represented as devoid of independent power; but such ideas are not found in the Æneid.

Jupiter is indeed called omnipotent at times, but so are Juno and Apollo, which shows that the term must be used in a relative sense. In a few cases he can grant very great powers as when he tells Venus: *Imperium sine fine dedi* (I, 278). But very providence he never seems to be. He draws (sortitur) the lots of fate (III, 375), he does not assign them at will, and he unrolls the book of fate and announces what he finds (I, 261).

On VI 11, *mentem animumque*: "nam secundum Lucretium unum est mens et animus."

On VII 4, *si qua est ea gloria*: "secundum Epicureos."

⁷The passages have been analyzed and discussed frequently. See especially Heinze, Vergil's Epische Technik, 290 ff., who interprets Zeus as fate; Matthaei, Class. Quart. 1917, pp. 11-26, who denies the identity; Drachmann, Guderne hos Vergil, 1887; MacInnis, Class. Rev. 1910, p. 160, and Warde Fowler, Aeneas at the site of Rome, pp. 122 ff.

⁸Morale d'Epicure, p. 72.

He is powerless to grant Cybele's prayer that the ships may escape decay:

Cui tanta deo permissa potestas? (IX 97)

He cannot decide the battle between the warriors until he weighs their fates (XII, 725), and in the council of the gods he confesses explicitly his non-interference with the laws of causality:

Sua cuique exorsa laborem
Fortunamque ferent. Rex Jupiter omnibus idem
Fata viam invenient. (X 112)

And here the scholiast naïvely remarks:

Videtur hic ostendisse aliud esse fata, aliud Jovem.*

Again, contrary to the Stoic creed, the poet conceives of his human characters as capable of initiating action and even of thwarting fate. Æneas in the second book rushes into battle on an impulse, he could forget his fates and remain in Sicily if he chose (V, 700). He might also remain in Carthage, and explains fully why he does not; and Dido, if left *nescia fati*, might thwart the fates (I, 299), and finally does, slaying herself before her time¹⁰ (IV, 696). The Stoic hypothesis seems to break down completely in such passages.

Can we assume an Epicurean creed with better success? At least in so far as it places the *foedera naturae* above the Gods and attributes some freedom of will and action to men, for as we have seen in both of these matters Vergil agrees with Lucretius. But there is one apparent difficulty in that Vergil contrary to his teacher's usual practice permits the interference of the gods in human action. The difficulty is, however, only apparent, if,

* Serv. ad loc. MacInnis, *Class. Rev.* 1910, p. 172, cites several other passages to the point in refutation of Heinze.

¹⁰ See Matthæi, *Class. Quart.* 1917, p. 19. Care must be observed not to press all the occurrences of *Fatum* and *fata* into philosophical connotations. At times the poet uses the word with his eye upon its derivation from *fari*: cf. *Fabor-fatorum*, I 261, *data fata secutus*, I 382, *fatis incerta feror* IV, 110. In such cases it is a metrical equivalent of "oracles" or "predictions." He also, like many prose writers, used the word in the common sense of bad fortune, or good fortune. Merquet's lexicon of Vergil notes the following meanings: *Weissagung, Bestimmung, Geschick, Schicksal, Los, Verhängnis, Unglück.*

as Vergil does, we conceive of these gods simply as heroic and superhuman characters in the drama accepted from an heroic age in order to keep the ancient atmosphere in which *Æneas* had lived in men's imagination ever since Homer first spoke of him. As such characters they have the power of initiative and the right to interfere in action that Epicurus attributes to men, and in so far as they are of heroic stature their actions may be the more effective. So far an Epicurean might well go, and must go in an epic of the heroic age. This is of course not the same as saying that Vergil adopted the gods in imitation of Homer or that he needed Olympic machinery because he supposed it a necessary part of the epic technique. Surely Vergil was gifted with as much critical acumen as Lucan. But he had to accept these creatures as subsidiary characters the moment he chose *Æneas* as his hero, for *Æneas* was the son of Venus who dwelt with the celestials at least a part of the time. Her presence in turn involved Juno and Jupiter and the rest of her daily associates. Furthermore, since the tale was of the heroic age of long ago, the characters must naturally behave as the characters of that day were wont to do, and there were old books like Homer and Hesiod from which every schoolboy had become familiar with their behavior. If the poet wished to make a plausible tale of that period he could no more undertake to modernize his characters than could Tennyson in his *Idylls*. The would-be gods are in the tale not to reveal Vergil's philosophy—they do not—but to orient the reader in the atmosphere in which *Æneas* had always been conceived as moving.

This comparison of Vergil's artistic conception with that of a modern like Tennyson working in the days of carefully authenticated historical novels may seem drastic, but I think the student of Vergil will agree that the Roman poet, while less afraid of anachronisms than the modern, worked somewhat in the same manner. He deliberately worked up his antiquarian lore¹¹ in every part so as to get a plausible setting for his characters of a bygone age. The seventh and eighth books show how thoroughly he did this for his Italian scenes. On the site of Rome

¹¹ Servius, Bk. VI, praef. *Totus Vergilius scientia plenus est*. It has been noticed that Cicero is also very careful to make the personae of his dialogues speak in character and avoid anachronisms.

Æneas found the cattle grazing in the valley where the forum lay in Vergil's day; the Capitoline hill was still *silvestribus horrida dumis*, though apparently inhabited by a powerful divinity (VIII, 348, 360). The rites being celebrated at his coming were those of the very ancient cults, of the Salii, the Potitii, and the Ara Maxima. The hovels of the city are thatched and the hero is invited to rest on a couch strewn with leaves. In the catalogue of the seventh book the cities of primitive Italy, once great, though mere names in the poet's day, are restored to their old time glory with insistent care. How could he know that the dilapidated and wrecked Praeneste had once extended her dominion over all the territory from Gabii to the river Amasenus unless he had resorted to the city's legends or deliberately inferred such greatness from its extensive walls and from such relics of art as we can now see in the museum of the Valle Giulia. Vanished cities like Antemnae, Crustumerium, Labicum, Saturae, and a score of others are all carefully repeopled in his primitive Italy. Their arms and armor, the bronze and woven-willow shield, the war chariot, the *aclydes*, and *cateiae* might in part be suggested by Homeric reminiscences, but most of them are Italic and come from a careful search in Latin books of antiquities or from observing the ancient votive offerings heaped up in temples and the terra cotta revetments of old buildings pictured with processions of mounted and charioted warriors such as the archeologists have recently found in numbers at Rome, Lanuvio, and Velletri. Vergil has even learned that a part of the Faliscan tribe once peopled the ager Falernus near Cumae (VII, 724), that before the bay-tree was introduced into Latium the poplar wreath was used in ancient cults (Macr. Sat. III, 12, 4, citing Varro), and he seems also to have observed the ancient coin symbols of cities like Carthage, Gela, and Cumae whose mints had closed long before his day.¹²

Thus the poet deliberately crammed himself with *scientia*, as the puzzled Servius puts it, for the sake of creating a plausible background for his drama. And as he delved in Timaeus, Cato, Varro, and the stores of old art for material with which to recon-

¹² Van Buren, In Num. Chron. X 409 ff.; cf. Aeneid, I 444; III 702-5; VI 171. For the antiquarian studies of Vergil, cf. Ritter, Dissert. Phil. Halenses, 1901. On the enthusiasm for Italian antiquities among Romans of Vergil's day, see Norden, Neue Jahrb. 1901, pp. 249 ff.



struct primitive Latium, he studied the literature of the Homeric age for hints towards the proper staging of Æneas and his companions. Had he chosen a contemporary hero or one less blessed with celestial relatives there is no reason to suppose that he would have employed the superhuman personages at all. If this be true it is as uncritical to search for the poet's own conception of divinity in these personages as it would be to infer his taste in furniture from the straw cot which he chooses to give his hero at Evander's hovel. In the epic of primitive Rome the claims of art took precedence over personal creed, and so they would with any true poet; and if any critic were prosaic enough to object, Vergil might have answered with Livy: *Datur haec venia antiquitati ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat*, and if the inconsistency with his philosophy were stressed he could refer to Lucretius' proemium. It is clear then that while the conceptions of destiny and free will found in the Æneid are at variance with Stoic creed at every point, they fit readily into the Epicurean scheme of things as soon as we grant what any Epicurean poet would readily grant that the celestials might be employed as characters of the drama if in general subordinated to the same laws of causality and of freedom as were human beings.

What then are we to say of the Stoic coloring of the sixth book? In the first place, it is not actually Stoic. It is, as Norden and others have shown, a syncretism of mystical beliefs developed by Orphic and Apocalyptic poets and mystics from Pythagoras and Plato to a group of Hellenistic writers, popularized by the later less logical Stoic philosophers like Posidonius and gaining in Vergil's day a wide acceptance among those who were growing impatient of the exacting metaphysical processes of thought. Indeed Vergil contributed something toward foisting these beliefs upon early Christianity though they were no more essential to that than to Stoicism.

Be that as it may, this mystical setting was here adopted because the poet needed for his own purposes a vision of incorporated souls of Roman heroes, a thing which neither Epicurean nor orthodox Stoic creed could provide. So he created this *mythos* as Plato for his own purpose created a vision of Er. The dramatic purpose of the *descensus* was of course to complete for Æneas the progressive revelation of his mission so skilfully

developed by careful stages all through the third book,¹³ to give the hero his final commands and to inspire him for the final struggle.¹⁴ Then the poet realized that he could at the same time produce a powerful artistic effect upon the reader if he accomplished¹⁵ this by means of a vision of Rome's great heroes presented in review by Anchises from the mount of revelations, for this was an age in which Rome was growing proud of her history. But to do this he must have a *mythos* which assumed that souls lived before their earthly existence. A Homeric limbo of departed souls did not suffice (though Vergil also availed himself of that in order to recall the friends of the early books). With this in view he builds his home of the dead out of what Servius calls much *sapientia*, filling in details here and there even from the legendary lower-world personages so that the reader may meet some familiar faces. It is in creating the atmosphere and peopling the place that he metes out punishment and rewards, based not upon religious sanction, but, as in Lucretius, upon humanitarian considerations, and so incorporates his incisive criticism of life that lifts this poetry far beyond anything uttered at the futile councils of the gods. For here Vergil is dealing with his own creations; there he was tied to creatures made long ago and in whom the Epicurean had little interest. Here again the setting is not to be taken literally, for of course neither he nor anyone else actually believed that prenatal spirits bore the attributes and garments of their future existence, nor is the poet concerned about the eschatology which had to be assumed for the setting; but his judgments on life, though afforded an opportunity to find expression through the characters of the scene, are not allowed to be circumscribed by them: they are his own deepest convictions.

It has frequently been said that Vergil's philosophical system is confused and that his judgments on providence are inconsistent, that in fact he seems not to have thought his problems through. This is of course true so far as it is true of all the students of philosophy of his day. Indeed we must admit that with the very inadequate psychology provided by the aprioristic

¹³ See Heinze, *Epische Technik*, pp. 82 ff.

¹⁴ This Vergil indicates repeatedly: *Aen.* V 737; VI 718, 806-7, 890-2.

¹⁵ Drachmann, *op. cit.* p. 115.



metaphysics no reasonable solution of the then central problem of determinism could be offered. But if the statement is intended to impugn Vergil's understanding or complete mastery of what the best teachers of his day had to offer, we may well question it in view of his years of communion with Siro and Philodemus.

There are of course passages of Stoic coloring, as for instance the lines in the *Georgics* that introduce the prognostications (I, 231-51). These have been traced back to astronomical theories which originated in the Stoic lecture room. Here Vergil used for the instruction of the farmer certain parts of Aratus and Eratosthenes on weather wisdom, doubtless knowing as well as the modern critic that these two authors had based their arguments upon astronomical ideas of Zeno. But since those ideas were in no vital degree inconsistent with his views he saw no need of throwing out a picture of poetic value simply because it did not happen to originate with his master. And this illustration will explain most of the passages where Stoic presuppositions are found.

Furthermore the Epicurean school permitted no little latitude to poets in the use of heterodox material. The fragment recently printed by Grenfell and Hunt (Ox. Pap. II, 31) grants that "the wise man will do well sometimes to do homage to the vulgar opinion about the gods," and Lucretius suggests (II, 655) that myths may be used for artistic purposes, a use which he permits himself in the picture of spring (V, 737) which Botticelli illustrated:

It Ver et Venus, et Veneris prænuntius ante
pennatus graditur, Zephyri vestigia propter
Flora quibus mater præsarpagens ante viai
cuncta coloribus egregiis et odoribus opplet.

Philodemus also, Vergil's own teacher, is so free in the use of picturesque mythology in his epigrams that the reader would never suspect that in the lecture room he constantly denied divine intervention in human affairs.

Vergil doubtless was a thorough student of the philosophy of his day, and, while recognizing that there were still unsolved problems, was a convinced Epicurean. But he was above all a poet who not only availed himself of the liberties that his school accorded poets, but freely accepted from any source ideas and images that furthered the artistic merits of his epic. The

literary critic need really have little difficulty in distinguishing between his figures of speech and his true convictions if he accepts him as a poet.

In the *Phaedo*, Plato, who had suffered much from unimagi-native pupils, warned the reader not to take the "myth" literally. Vergil wisely gave the same warning at the end of his myth, but poetlike made the mistake of involving it in Homeric imagery. Despite the warning and despite the blunt statement of Servius (on VI, 893) that the portal of unreal dreams refers the imagery of the sixth book to fiction, our commentators still continue to deduce from it the articles of Vergil's creed.

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III.—NOTES ON THE TEXT OF ASKLEPIODOTOS.

The Τέχνη Τακτική of Asklepiodotos, the philosopher, is contained in only a small number of MSS, the oldest, best-known and most accessible of which I shall discuss below. The first five are given the symbols employed by Hermann Köchly.¹

F — Florentinus, i. e. Laurentianus LV, 4, membr., s. X, no. 7, 132^a-142^b.²

V — Vallicellanus 130, chart., s. XVIII.³

A — Parisinus 2522, chart., s. XV, 52^b-77^b.⁴

¹ In the first, and so far the only, edition of Asklepiodotos, published in H. Köchly and W. Rüstow: Griechische Kriegsschriftsteller, II, 1, Leipzig, 1855 (henceforth referred to as "K. and R.").

² This is the famous MS of the Greek Tacticians, described best in Bandini: Catal. Codd. Mss. Graec. Bibl. Laur., II, 218-38, and K. K. Müller: Festschrift für L. Urlichs, Würzburg, 1880, pp. 105-8. Of this MS Köchly knew only the few words which were quoted by Bandini.

³ See E. Martini: Catal. di Manosc. Greci esist. nelle Bibl. Ital. II, 1902, Cat. Cod. Graec. qui in Bibl. Vallicellana Romae adservantur, p. 202. This MS was copied by Leo Allatius (1586-1669), Professor of Greek in the Greek Collegium at Rome and later Librarian of the Vatican, direct from the Laurentian at Florence. A small portion of it was printed by Angelo Mai: Spicilegium Romanum, vol. IV, Rome, 1840, pp. 578-81. K. and R. are in error when they assert (p. 128) that this MS was in the Vatican. Mai merely reports that he saw it in Rome.

⁴ This MS Köchly collated himself, as he remarks apropos of the Anon. Byzant. (K. and R., II, 2, p. 4) although he says nothing about the matter in the introductory note to Asklepiodotos. That he had done so in time to use his own collations for the edition of Asklepiodotos is not impossible, because it came out in the same year, 1855, as the Anonymus Byzantinus. But there is no certainty that he did, and in the notes of his edition of 1855, he manifests no more familiarity with the readings of ABC than he had shown in the *apparatus criticus* which he published along with the first three paragraphs of the first chapter of Asklepiodotos in the *Index Lectionum*, Zürich, 1852, for which he secured his knowledge of the MSS almost certainly from Huntziker (see note 6 below). That Köchly had this MS in time for the edition of Aeneas (1853) is most improbable for he does not speak of this MS [for Aeneas = B] as though he had then seen it, and he refers to it only very rarely in his notes. On the whole it seems nearly certain that for

B = Parisinus 2435, chart., s. XVI, 75^a-85^b.⁵

C = Parisinus 2528, chart., s. XVII.⁶

D = Parisinus 2447, chart., s. XVI, 1-16.

E = Parisinus Suppl. Grec 83, chart., 1652, 74-91.^{7a}

F is the archetype of V, A, B and C as is generally recognized.⁷ Although an old and excellent MS it does not give us an impeccable text. Errors of itacism are tolerably frequent, but need no enumeration. The tendency to write prepositional phrases as a single word is marked. Thus, Chapter heading γ', καθόλην; I, 2 ἀπεναντίας; I, 3 διελεφάντων, etc. Sheer blunders are not so very common. Thus, II, 8 ἐπὶ for ἐπὶ; *ibid.* 9 εἰς ἀριθμοὶ for ἐξ ἀριθμοὶ; III, 2 τὴν δὲ for δὲ τὴν, etc. Evidence that F was copied with fidelity may be seen in numerous instances where the scribe is clearly reproducing merely what he thought he saw, without trying to make either words or sense out of it. The archetype was occasionally lacunose or illegible. It seems not to have been as bad, however, as that of Aeneas in these respects. Indications of lacunae in the original appear very rarely; thus, according to Dr. Rostagno's collation, only in X, 8

all three of these Paris MSS K. and R. had only the collations of Huntziker available when the text of Asklepiodotos was published. Cf. note 6 below.

⁵ Collated for K. and R. probably by Huntziker; see notes 4 and 6.

⁶ Köchly: Index Lect., Zürich, 1852, p. 10, K. and R., p. 129, and II, 2, p. 3 for A, assign all three of the Paris MSS to the 16th century, which is absurd for one written, as C is, by Cl. Salmasius (1588-1653). The dates given above are those of Omont in the Inventaire Sommaire. K. and R. derived their knowledge of C from a collation prepared by Jakob Huntziker. This is not definitely stated, so far as I can find, but is implied by Köchly: Index Lect., Zürich, 1852, pp. 4 and 10 (cf. K. and R., p. 212). Also in K. and R. occasional statements about certain readings of C are given in quotation marks, as though on someone's authority, and twice, X, 16 and XI, 7, Huntziker is named as that authority. In general it might be said of Huntziker's collations that they are not complete enough, and an editor would frequently like more information. It is certainly not safe to infer anything from silence about the reading of any of these MSS.

^{7a} The MS was copied at Stockholm by P. D. Huet.

⁷ K. and R., p. 129, had conjectured that such was the case even without having seen F. I owe my knowledge of it to the admirable collation kindly prepared for me by Prof. Dott. Enrico Rostagno of the Laurentian Library at Florence. All my statements about F are, therefore, made upon his high authority.

τὸν ἔμεν (space for 3 letters) for τὸν ἔμπροσθεν, and XII, 11 ἐπιδου (space for 4 letters) for ἐπὶ δόρυ. Elsewhere the scribe of F seems not to have noticed that anything was missing. How these numerous omissions are to be explained in a text otherwise pretty carefully copied is a question to which I find no answer suggested by the present state of F. Possibly a remote ancestor had been seriously damaged, and the next copyist simply left out what was hard to read. Fortunately the very technical subject-matter enables the editor to make many restorations with complete certainty, while other passages can be recovered by means of the numerous direct or indirect quotations in Aelian, Arrian, and the Military Lexicon (see below, p. 140).

For V we are informed by Mai and Martini that it was copied from the Laurentian MS,⁸ and this is obvious from a mere glance at its readings. We know it only from Mai's publication of chapters I-II, 9 (inclusive). K. and R. used Mai, but as my own collation shows a dozen additional variant readings, their work was none too carefully done. The number of variants from F is large, but not all are due to Allatius; such absurdities as τὴν ἀπολειπόμενον (II, 9); πρόσωπος (II, 5); τολὸν (II, 2); δέχα (II, 7), impossible for a native Greek, are certainly typographical errors. Inasmuch as F is still perfectly legible, except in some of the diagrams, which V seems to have omitted anyway,⁹ the only value V can have must lie in the emendations of Allatius, and it is these (disregarding entirely mere errors¹⁰) which we shall examine.

I, 2 οὔτε θώραξι κεκοσμημένον F: κοσμούμενον V. A needless and unjustifiable change.

I, 3 διὰ τὸ συνεπισκέπτεσθαι καὶ τὸν ἵππον F: συνεπισκέπεσθαι V. An obvious and easy change which strangely escaped Salmasius.

⁸ This statement was probably made in the MS itself, for it is given by both Mai and Martini, although neither had any special knowledge of the Laurentian MS.

⁹ Mai makes no mention of them, nor, indeed, of the introductory list of chapters.

¹⁰ These were probably not so numerous as Mai's text would lead one to imagine, for Allatius seems ordinarily to have copied with commendable accuracy, except when he emended. Thus, in the heading of chapter I, V following F has φαλάγγων, ABC φάλαγγος; so I, 2 ἀπερτίας V, ἀπ' ἐπαρτίας ABC; II, 1 λυμάλνηται V, λυμάλνεται ABC; II, 3 τοῦς τε V, τοῖς δὲ ABC, etc.

I, 3 *οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἄκροισ ἐπικοινωνοῦντες οἱ μὲν τόξοις, οἱ δὲ ἀκοντίοις μάχονται* F: *οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἄκροισ* V. An absurd change which destroys the sense of the passage.

I, 3 *καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ χρῶμενοι σκευῇ* (l. ἄλλῃ) F: *αὐτῇ* V, followed by K. and B. ἄλλῃ is preferable because it means the equipment other than that of bows and javelins just mentioned. Now the heavy cavalry did not use javelins, but long heavy spears (see just above), hence to say that the branch of the intermediate cavalry which resembled the heavy cavalry used the same equipment is incorrect; it was only the rest of the equipment (i. e., apart from the javelins) which was identical with that of the heavy cavalry. The emendation has only a superficial plausibility, but on closer examination turns out to be false.

II, 1 *σύμμετρα δέ ἐστι θέμενα τὰ τιθέμενα τὰ μέρη μὴδὲν τὴν φάλαγγα πρὸς τὴν μάχην λυμαίνηται* (l. λυμαίνεται) F: *σ. δ. ἐστι θέμενα τὰ μέρη ἃ μὴδὲν κτλ.* V. The serious corruption here was in F's archetype. First *τά* must have dropped out and then *ἐστιθέμενα* was written by haplography. Next the correction, probably in the form *τὰ τιθέμενα ᾗ* was entered, and both error and correction were copied in F, whose scribe probably completed the confusion by supposing that *ᾗ* belonged before *μέρη* and so changing it to *τά*. The one perfectly obvious emendation, the restoration of the relative *ᾗ* after *μέρη* V did, indeed, make, but even the simple expedient of excluding the meaningless *θέμενα* seems to have been beyond his powers. The correct emendation of a passage like this was, of course, easy for a scholar like Salmasius.

II, 2 *συνωμετια* F: *συνωμοτιά* (the accent probably due to Mai or the printer) V. Perfectly obvious emendation, made in all the other MSS as well.

II, 4 towards the end, the words *ἢ ἐπιστάται . . . παραστάται* are omitted by V. If this was really done by Allatius, not by Mai, or the printer, it is probably due to a belief that these words were a gloss, a view which would have been dispelled by even a very little study of the context.

II, 5 *ἐστι* F: *εἶη* V. Unnecessary and no improvement.

II, 7 *δι' ὃ* F: *καί* V. The recommendation to select numbers evenly divisible by two down to unity is a direct consequence of the preceding clause, so that the emendation *καί* is altogether wrong.

II, 8 *ἔσονται δὴ* F: *δέ* V. Unnecessary and less effective.

II, 9 *ἔξ ἀριθμοί* F: *ἐνἀριθμοί* V. F's reading requires only the simplest change to *ἐξἀριθμοί*. V's emendation makes nonsense.

II, 9 *ἡμάφορον . . . τὸν δ' σῶν*. F: *ἡμάφορον . . . ὀτίφ* [!]
V. What shall we think of the critical ability of a scholar who was unable to emend so obvious an error, particularly when the definition of the term was so broadly hinted at in the very next words, *εἰ μὴ φωνῆς κατακούειν ἐνδέχουτο διὰ θόρυβον*?

II, 9 *ὅποτε δ' εἰ μὴ δ' εἴρηκε. ὅν* F: *δὲ μὴδὲ σημείον* V. The correction to *σημείον* is too simple to deserve any credit, and nonsense is created by the retention of *δέ*. An archetype probably had *ὅποτε δέ* with the correction *μὴδὲ* for *δέ* and then F, or its original, ran the two together.

II, 9 *τόγε μὴν* F: *τό γε μὲν* V. The correction is obvious, *τόν γε μὴν*. What Allatius could have meant by his changes I have no idea.

With this paragraph Mai's excerpt from V ends, but no more is needed. The character of the thirteen characteristic readings given above, where all but the very simplest corrections are wrong, is sufficient to show that Allatius, whatever his other attainments as a scholar, did not concern himself sufficiently with his task in this instance to deserve anything of Asklepiodotos. It would be a waste of time for any one to collate V in full for any more of his emendations.

A has been copied with great fidelity, but probably not direct from F itself, although it reproduces minutely almost all of its errors (see below under B). It introduces only a small number of changes, which are always wrong,¹¹ except in the most obvious matters.¹² A second hand emends successfully in IV, 1 *διασθηκασι* of F to *διασθημάτων*, and two marginal readings (VII, 7 *ἴσοις* F changed to *δοοις*, and X, 2 *υπερασως* F changed to *υπερκεράσως*) hit the correct word. Otherwise the MS is valueless.

B varies a little more from F than does A and contains a

¹¹ For example, I, 3 *τούς τε ἴππους* F: *τοὺς δὲ* A (also in B and C); III title ἡ *κατὰ τὰ μέρη* F: *κατὰ μέρη* A (unnecessary, if not merely a case of haplography); VII, 8 *ἐκάτερα* F: *ἐκάτερᾱ* A, where *ἐκάτερα* is required.

¹² For example, II, 2 *συνωμετια* F: *συνωμοτία* A (and all the other MSS); II, 10 *φιε* F: *φιβ* A (obvious to any one who can multiply by two).

comparatively large number of gross blunders. It was not copied from A, as is clear from the way in which it retains a few peculiar errors in F which are not in A. Thus I, 3 F has *περισκέπων* changed to *περισκέπον*, A has *περισκέπον* and B *περισκέπων*; II, 2 F and B (1st hand) have *συνωμετία*, A *συνωμοτία*. On the other hand A and B are obviously very closely related, because both omit the last thirteen words of X, 10, while such senseless errors as II, 7 *ἀρτιακεις* A B for *ἀρτιάκις* F; VI, 1 *οὐκ ἔστιν* for *οὐκέτι*; and XI, 2 *πήκται* A *δπηκται* B for *ξηπται* F point clearly to a common archetype which must have been a very faithful copy of F, reproducing even both readings in the case of a correction, as in I, 3 mentioned above. B's own changes in no case really emend the text and as a MS B accordingly is worthless. Its marginal readings are, however, interesting and will be taken up in connection with the next MS.

C coming from the pen of Salmasius has, of course, a high value because of its emendations, even though, since the great man was merely copying a MS and not editing a text, he often did not take time to emend all the corruptions, many of which could not in any case have been cured without the aid of the parallel versions in Aelian and Arrian. Mere slips in C have not been recorded, but all the important emendations have, except in those fairly frequent cases where Salmasius' conjecture has been confirmed by the examination of F. C was copied from B (or a descendant of B), because it not only reproduces some of B's peculiar errors like XI, 6 *τετραμερία* for *τετραμερία*; XII, 11 *μὲν* for *μέντοι*; ¹⁸ but omits regularly what B alone omits, as II, 1 *eis*; IX, 1 *τό*; XI, 7 *δέ*; or else, as in X, 21, where B omits the last five words, C attempts to supply the lacuna, getting correctly only the first two words, which were easy enough to supply.

Salmasius had clearly no MS but B to work upon, for not infrequently his corrections differ a good deal from F. Furthermore he so frequently agrees with a reading in the margin of B that one is tempted to examine into that point somewhat more closely. There are fifteen of these marginal corrections, running from IV, 3 to X, 10, and, what stands almost unpar-

¹⁸ Errors common to B and C, but not in A are, of course, not very numerous because B resembles A very closely anyway, and then Salmasius emended with the greatest freedom.

alleled in criticism, all but one are certainly right.¹⁴ Besides, they could not have been made from F, because in thirteen of the instances, F itself was corrupt. Now Salmasius followed these very closely; ten out of the fifteen he took over exactly; in three other instances his reading is (by oversight probably) not recorded by K. and R., but the chances are that he accepted the emendation; in one case, VII, 9, he followed the anonymous corrector in B in part but reversed the order of the supplied letters, writing $\sigma\tau$ instead of $\tau\sigma$; ¹⁵ and only once, V, 2, did he fail to follow. The credit then for this group of conjectures belongs to the anonymous corrector of B and not to Salmasius, and an editor should accordingly reverse the order of citation from "C B (margin)," as in K. and R., to "B (margin) C."

The brilliant record of success in emendation shows that these marginal readings are the work of no ordinary scholar. They were certainly not made by Salmasius himself, because one he overlooks and another he gets mixed up. Besides, they appear in only a little more than half of the work, while Salmasius copied the whole of it. One thinks at once of Casaubon, who spent ten years at Paris,¹⁶ and was greatly interested in Greek military writers as his *editio princeps* of Aeneas (1609),¹⁷ a closely related author, shows.¹⁸ The restriction of the correc-

¹⁴ I have not counted among these the correction in II, 2 *συνομητεια* where *o* is written in the lower margin, because that seems to be of a different kind from the others, and is separated from them by a number of pages.

¹⁵ This seems to constitute a certain proof that the marginal readings of B were used by Salmasius.

¹⁶ To be sure this particular MS was not yet in the Royal Library at the time when Casaubon was at Paris (it belonged to the Hurault Collection which was incorporated in the Royal Library in 1622; see Omont, *op. cit.*, I, p. xix) but a man like Casaubon must have seen numerous libraries and hundreds of MSS during the many years that he spent in France.

¹⁷ Thus Aeneas is contained in Par. 2522, 2435 [= B], and 2443; Asklepiodotos in Par. 2522, 2435 [= B], and 2528. Casaubon also intended at one time to publish Aelian's *Tactica* (preface to Polybius, p. 61), some MSS of which were at Paris, and copied a portion of Leo's *Tactica* (Mark Pattison: Isaac Casaubon, p. 184). Casaubon's emendations of Aeneas are numerous and almost uniformly correct.

¹⁸ To be sure Casaubon used MS 2443 for his text of Aeneas, published in 1609 (see his preface compared with Omont's Catalogue), and

tions to a portion of the MS is just what one might expect of the somewhat desultory habits of Casaubon, as he might have had only a short time in which to examine this MS, and jotted down his ready and sure corrections.

In the case of D photographs of folios 1, 4, and 5 recto and verso (= I, 1—II, 1 and III, 3—VII, 2) were collated as specimens. They are sufficient to determine the relationship and value of the MS so that no more photographs were made. D is descended from F, as is evident from the retention of many of its absurd readings, like I, 3 *χρησίμως ἐρᾶν*, etc. It was not, however, copied direct from F, since it omits in I, 4 the words *ἄσκησιν—παρατάξεως* along with ABC. It derives therefore from a common archetype of these three MSS. By the same token, and because of disagreement in peculiar readings like *κοσμούμενον* in I, 2; *αὐτῇ* I, 3; the omission of *ὡς πολλὴν* I, 3; *καταλογῆσαι* II, 1, etc., D is not a descendant of V. It was copied with even greater fidelity than were A and B and reproduces not infrequently the exact form of F, as, e. g., I, tit. *φάλαγγον* (*φάλαγγος* ABC); I, 3 *τούς τε* (*δέ* ABC), etc. It disagrees also so frequently with ABC and B (margin) that it cannot derive directly from any of them, but it is unnecessary to present the complete evidence. Its emendations are:

I, 3 *ἀκοντίζουσιν*: (-σι F). Superfluous.

I, 4 *διαφοραὶ θ̄*: δ. *αἶδε* K. and B. Something is indeed lacking here, and a careful reading of the chapter will show that, as a matter of fact, exactly nine kinds of troops are mentioned, three of infantry, four of cavalry, and one each of chariots and elephants. But a bare number coming after the list is in itself unnatural, and such an enumeration of varieties by number alone is out of keeping with the style of the author. The emendation cannot, therefore, be accepted.

III, 5 *ἀμφοτέρωθεν*: -οθεν F. Obvious.

says nothing about any other MSS of that author, although there is nothing to preclude the possibility of his having known several MSS, even though he used only one. In fact Casaubon had in his own hands, but did not use, a much older MS of Aeneas than the one in the Royal Library which he published (Mark Pattison, *op. cit.*, p. 185). Besides he remained at Paris for a year or more after his Polybius appeared, and might have come to know about this MS at that time.

III, 6 (and VI, 3) ἑκτατοι, the first time with C: ἑκτατοι F. Obvious.

IV, 3 κατά with B (margin): κα F. Obvious.

IV, 4 πήχεις μῆ with B (margin) and C: πήχει· μή F. Obvious.

V, tit. ιδέας: εἰδέας F. Simple.

V, 1 ὀκταπάλαιστος: ὀκτοπ- F. A change is needed, but that to ω (K. and R.) is more plausible.

V, 1 πέμπτου: πέμπτον F. Obvious, but the τοῦ supplied by K. and R. is also needed.

V, 1 πήχεων: πηχεων (sic) F, and πηχεων (sic): πηχαίων F. Simple changes to the Attic accent and the ordinary spelling.

V, 2 εἶναι καὶ μὴ τὰς σαρισ (sic), but in margin εἰ καὶ μὴ with B (margin) C K. and R., τὰς σαρίσσας with K. and R.: ταῖς σαρίσσαις B (margin) C. Very simple.

VI, 1 λέγεται with *Lex. Mil.* § 28 K. and R.: λέγονται F. Obvious.

VI, 3 συστάσεων with K. and R. Obvious.

VII, 2 ῥομβοειδῆ: ῥομβοειδεί F. Absurd.

VII, 2 ἔταττον with K. and R.: ἐλάττων F. Simple even if not quite obvious.

VII, 2 ῥομβοειδούς . . . σφηνοειδούς . . . ἐμβολοειδούς (sic) for -ές in each case. Absurd.

Two of the changes quoted are clearly wrong, two unnatural, another merely superfluous. The remainder are either obvious or else simple for even an average intelligence. No account has been taken here, of course, of the numerous egregious errors which D leaves uncorrected. An even moderately serious difficulty like that of the "Babylonians" in V, 2 is quite beyond his powers. The three folios examined show no indication of an ability in emendation which would justify a collation of the remainder. Here and there, no doubt, "MS authority" of a certain kind would be given to a correction by Salmasius or by Köchly, but the value of such attestation is extremely slight, and *minima non curat praetor*.

E is carefully written by a competent scholar, P. D. Huet, who, however, was not more than twenty-two years of age at the time. Photographs of folios 75, 78 verso-79 verso (= I, 1-II, 1 and IV, 1-VII, 1) were collated as specimens. E does not derive from any MS of the family ABCD, because, aside from

a large number of disagreements in individual readings, it contains the seven omitted words *ἄσκησον—παρατάξεως* in I, 4. Its original was either F itself or else a very close copy of it, since in many places it reproduces F's reading much better than ABC. It is not a copy of V for it has none of the latter's peculiar readings, while in I, 3 it contains the omitted words *καὶ πολλήν*. Clear mistakes like V, 2 *τὸν πέμπτον ζυγόν* are relatively rare.

Huet's emendations are:

IV, 1 *ἐξεύρηται* with C: *ἐξηύρηται* F. Superfluous.

IV, 2 *ἡ καὶ τὸ βάθος: κατὰ βάθος* F *κατὰ τὸ βάθος* B. Since this change makes no proper sense, it may be merely a slip.

IV, 3 *τὸ δίπηχυν* with B (margin) C. Obvious.

IV, 3 *κατὰ συνασπισμόν* with B (margin) D. Obvious.

IV, 3 *ἐπάγωμεν* with B (margin). Obvious.

V, 1 *οὐδὲ μείζω πλατεῖαν: μὲι ζολατεσ σαν* (sic) F. A bad mistake.

V, 1 *ᾗ δὲ καί: ᾗ δὴ καί* F. Certainly wrong, and perhaps only a slip.

V, 1 *πέμπτον* with D. Obvious.

V, 2 In the "Babylonian" passage the only change is to write *τῷ στοίχῳ* with B (margin).

V, 2 *εἶναι* with F against B (margin) C D (margin), *καὶ μὴ ταῖς σαρίσσαῖς* with B (margin) C. The first part of this reading is certainly wrong, and the latter part an unnecessary change. As far as it goes, however, it tends to suggest that Huet *might* have been independent of the marginal emendations in B with which he agrees in every other instance in the folios which we have, thus, IV, 3 thrice; IV, 4; V, 2; VI, 1.

VI, 1 *λέγεται* with *Lex. Mil.* § 28 D. Obvious.

VI, 1 *παρένταξιν* with B (margin) C. Obvious.

VI, 2 *ἡμῖν: ὑμῖν* F (*οὐ μὴν* C is correct). Huet saw that there was a difficulty, but the remedy used is trite and shows no understanding of the context.

A majority of the foregoing changes are obvious, one is superfluous, two are bad mistakes, and two other changes may be mere slips. It is clear from such a showing that no emendations beyond the critical insight of a Hermann Köchly are likely to be found in the remainder of this MS, and that a complete collation, accordingly, would not repay the trouble which it would cost.

A new editor of Asklepiodotos, with a knowledge of F's reading, will doubtless be less inclined to introduce emendations than K. and R. who were handling only late MSS. In any event so well have the anonymous corrector, Salmasius, and Köchly done their work, that comparatively little remains to be gleaned. A few passages, however, may perhaps be discussed here not without profit, in view of the age and excellent character of F.

I, 2 it is said that the light-armed troops use "javelins, slings, καὶ ὅλως τοῖς ἐξ ἀπορτήματος λεγομένοις τοξεύμασιν. τόξευμα as a general term for "missile" is apparently not otherwise attested, but it seems better to retain it here than with K. and R. to delete it and insert ὅπλοις after ὅλως. In a similar way φάλαγξ (I, title, and § 4; cf. Anon. Byzant., XV, 1) is used generically of any kind of military detachment.¹⁹

I, 3 καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐγγύθεν ὁμοίως βαρυτάτῃ κέχρηται σκευῇ, τοὺς τε (δὲ A B C μὲν K. and R.) ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας πανταχόθεν θώραξι περισκεπόν, μακροῖς † μὲν (δὲ K. and R.) χρώμενον καὶ αὐτὸ τοῖς δόρασιν, † ὃ καὶ δορατοφόρον τοῦτο καὶ ξυστοφόρον προσαγορεύεται κτλ. F. Here μὲν is certainly corrupt, and a little further on ὃ and τοῦτο surely cannot stand side by side. Everything runs smoothly, however, if we keep τε with F, and read μέντοι and δὲ' ὃ (cf. II, 7; δὲ' α, II, 9) below.

I, 3 ἀλλῇ (actually ἄλλῃ) F as against αὐτῇ Allatius and K. and R. has been discussed above.

II, 2 συνωμοτία (συνωμετια F corrected by A B [lower margin] C V) is to be retained, although not elsewhere attested, partly because it is designated here as an obsolete expression, and partly because of its proper formation and of the large list of closely related words.

II, 2 ὠνόμαστο K. and R. is a needless change from ὠνόμασται; and similarly in 4 διὰ τὸ παραλλήλους ἴσασθαι need not be changed to παρ' ἀλλήλοις (K. and R.) in an author as late as ours (despite ἀνὰ λόγον in III, 1; see below).

II, 9 σημειοφόρον (ἡμιάφορον F) is out of its proper order. Inasmuch as Asklepiodotos is extremely exact in such matters,

¹⁹ That seems more natural than to suppose that this is a survival of the loose Homeric usage.

and the word as well as its explanation below in any event are corrupt,²⁰ it seems not improper to restore the correct order.

III, 1 γεωμέτριοι F: γεώμετροι K. and R. As neither word is attested elsewhere, F's reading may be preserved with some hesitation, though if one emended, γεωμετρικοί would involve less change than γεωμέτραι.

III, 1 ἐὰν τέσσαρα ἀνάλογον (ἀνάλογα Salmasius, K. and R.) ἢ F. Here τέ seems necessary, because a particular group of just four numbers is mentioned. Also ἀνὰ λόγον which F's reading presupposes should be retained.

III, 6 ἐν τοῖς συνασπισμοῖς συνεδρεῖν ἀναγκάζουεν F. K. and R. suggest συνερείδεν from Polybius, XII, 21, 3 which would be excellent. The well attested use of συνεδρεῖν in the sense "accompany," "be closely connected," may, however, justify the retention of F's reading here.

IV, 2 ἡ κατὰ βάθος, τε καὶ στοίχον (l. στοιχείν) F. For τε, which is impossible, K. and R. suggest ὅπερ. Somewhat closer would be τὸ καὶ in the same sense, used as the common ὁ καὶ in papyri and inscriptions for alternative designations.

IV, 2 ὅπερ ὀνομάζεται καὶ παραστάτην ἐπιστάτην F. Salmasius emended to κατὰ παραστάτην καὶ ἐπιστάτην. In view of the fact, however, that the other terms just given are verb forms, perhaps we should read καὶ παραστατεῖν καὶ ἐπιστατεῖν.

VII, 1 τόπους ἀμείνους προκαταλαβεῖν καὶ τοὺς προκατελημμένους ἀναλαβεῖν. K. and R. change the last word to ἀναστεῖλαι, taking the preceding participle as middle. But it must be passive, a use which is well attested, and to change is clearly wrong.

VII, 2 πρὸς τε τὰς ἀπορίας καὶ τὰς ἐπιστροφὰς τῶν ἱππων F. For the impossible ἀπορίας K. and R. read ἀναστροφάς, a word which appears in paragraph 3 below. But here it seems to mean "wheeling round" in general, while ἐπιστροφή means "wheeling to face the enemy," and ἀποστροφή (which is closer also to F's reading), meaning "wheeling away from the enemy," is clearly the word needed here.

VII, 3 τὸ γὰρ μέτωπον τῶν ἐμβόλων βραχὺ γινόμενον F. For

²⁰ This corruption of both term and explanation although separated by several lines, suggests that both were in the margin of some ancestor MS and so especially subject to injury. If that be the case there need be no hesitation about shifting the present order slightly.

βραχὺ K. and R. read σφόδρα ὀξύ, which is in a measure supported by the parallel passage in Arrian, XVIII, 4 τὸ μέτωπον ἐς ὀξύ ἀπολῆγον. But βραχύ is logical and strictly speaking more exact than ὀξύ, while Aelian, in the parallel passage, who is clearly following Asklepiodotos very much more closely than Arrian, reads τὸ δὲ μέτωπον βραχύ τι γενόμενον. There is, therefore, no occasion to emend.

VII, 4 in speaking of cavalry formations a depth of τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ἵπποτων is mentioned. K. and R. emend to ἵππων, but needlessly, since Asklepiodotos at the beginning of the paragraph speaks of depth of ὀκτὼ . . . ἀνδρας, and in treating schematic cavalry formations one can as readily say "men" as "horses."

X, 1. K. and R. bracket some seven terms in this paragraph, because there is no definition of them in what follows, suggesting that they may be interpolations from Aelian. This last is surely a counsel of desperation, for there is not the least suspicion that such an unlikely thing has happened anywhere else. As for στοιχεῖν and ζυγεῖν, these terms were defined in II, 6 and, though they are introduced here no doubt for the sake of completeness, it is superfluous to redefine them. Similarly in the case of παρεμβολή and the four other terms bracketed by K. and R. at the end of the paragraph, it is much better in view of the large number of undoubted lacunae in Asklepiodotos, to assume a lacuna in § 21, rather than delete these important technical terms. Besides, the first four of these terms are defined in VI, 1 and the fifth, ἐπίταξις, is perfectly clear from the definition of ἐπίταγμα in VII, 10, so that it is possible that here also, as in the case of στοιχεῖν and ζυγεῖν, Asklepiodotos may have intentionally omitted redefinitions.

X, 9, XII, 1 and 6 K. and R. needlessly change ἀποκαθιστάνειν of F (used by Polybius and Diodoros) to ἀποκαθιστάναι.

X, 11 εἰ . . . ποιούμεθα τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν, τόπον ἐφέξει, κτλ. F. K. and R. read ποιούμεθα, but the mixed condition is paralleled by X, 12, εἰ . . . κελεύοντο . . . δέξει, which K. and R. allow to stand, and further supported by XII, 4 εἰ . . . βουλοίμεθα . . . παραγγελοῦμεν, where K. and R. needlessly change to βουλόμεθα.

X, 13 τὸ δὲ ἐστίν F. τόδε is clearly required, since only a single manoeuvre is described, not τάδε as K. and R. print.

X, 16. For *ισχυρὰ ποιείται* of F, Salmasius (followed by K. and R.) conjectures *ισχυροποιείται*, a needless change.

XI, 2 . . . οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς ὅλης φάλαγγος ἐκδέχασθαι δεῖ (χρὴ K. and R. after Salmasius, needlessly) ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μερῶν F. K. and R. delete γάρ. To be sure I find no other example of ἀλλὰ γὰρ καί, but the combination in the natural sense of "but indeed also" is appropriate here, while ἀλλὰ γὰρ δῆ is not uncommon, and Plato once uses ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁμως (Rep., 432 C).

XII, 6 δύο ἐπιστροφὰς ἐπὶ τοαυτὸ (l. τὸ αὐτὸ) δόρυ ποιῆσαι παραγγελοῦμεν F. K. and R. in order to keep δόρυ supply τουτέστιν (an expression not found in Asklepiodotos) ἐπί. But the phrase is not in Aelian's excerpt (Tactica, XXXII, 6 δύο ποιήσομεν τοῦ συντάγματος ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιστροφάς), and is utterly otiose, so that δόρυ is much more likely to be an intruded gloss upon τὸ αὐτό.

XII, 10 προσήθισται was changed by K. and R. to προσείθισται. But Cod. S of Demosthenes gives forms of the perfect in ἥθ- (XXVI, 18; XXVII, 64; LXI, 14), and it is attested likewise by an inscription from Syros of 166-9 A. D. ταῖς ἡθισμέναις ἡμέραις (I. G. XII, 5, 662, 14), so that it seems best to retain the form, although unusual, here.

Since technical military terminology, especially for the Hellenistic period, has been somewhat inadequately treated in the lexicons, and since Asklepiodotos is the earliest authority to use many of these terms, for Suidas merely plundered the compiler of the *Military Lexicon*²¹ who drew largely from Aelian²² and

²¹ Best edited in K. and R., vol. II, 2, pp. 217 ff.; also in Bernhardt's ed. of Suidas, II, 2, pp. 1735 ff. This work was clearly put under considerable contribution by Stephanus in the first edition of the Thesaurus, but he gave no page or paragraph references, and by using several different appellations for it, *De re militari*; *De vocab. mil.*; *De vocab. castransibus*, he seems to have confused the later editors, who generally leave such references untouched. When they have occasion to use the same work, they generally call it *Lex. ap. Montef. Bibl. Coislin.*, after Montfaucon's reproduction of the Coislin. MS. It would appear that they did not notice that this was identical with the work referred to by Stephanus, and neither they nor Stephanus made very systematic use of it.

²² References to Aelian's and Arrian's *Tactica* (given generally "Aelian-Arrian") are taken from the ed. of K. and R., II, 1, 1855.

Arrian (but also in part from Asklepiodotos), while these latter were dependent in part upon Asklepiodotos, it may not be amiss to record here the principal additions to the standard lexicons which Asklepiodotos affords. In the following list I shall give not merely what appear to be new words (marked with an *) but also special meanings of words and a few phrases which are either not recorded, or for which the evidence quoted comes from a much later period. In a few instances inexact definitions are corrected. References to the other Tacticians and to ancient lexicons are given only where false definitions are corrected. The lexicons used are the revised *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (1831-65), Liddell and Scott (8th edition), Van Herwerden, *Lexicon Suppletorium et Dialecticum*, 2nd ed., 1910.²² When a term in the lexicons is adequately defined from Aelian, I have not thought it necessary to cite it here. When, however, only late authorities are adduced, it has seemed proper to point out the much earlier source.

ἄκρον, τό, *the wing of a line of battle* (= *κέρας*), I, 3.

**ἀντιπορία*, ἡ, *a counter-attack, or frontal attack*, X, 2.

ἀντίστομος, -ον; *πορεία ἀντίστομος*, *marching in two parallel columns, the lines of the front-rank-men on the inside*, XI, 3. L. and S., following the *Thesaurus*, regard this word which they know only from Arrian XXXVII, 7, as probably a false reading for *ἀμφίστομος*. But the two are totally different, as a comparison with Aelian, XXXIII, 3 (a passage which had fallen out in Arrian!) and Asklepiodotos, l. c., shows.

ἀποκατάστασις, ἡ, *return to original position, after wheeling or other evolutions*, X, 1; 9; 11. Cf. *ἐπικατάστασις*.

ἀποτομή, ἡ, *ἀποτομή κέρατος*, *a half-wing, or corps*, 4096 men in the typical phalanx, II, 10; III, 1 and 2.

**ἀραρός*, τό, (neu. perf. ptcp. of *ἀρασίσκω* used as subst.), *joining-point, point of division between the two wings of an army* (cf. *διχοτομία* and *ὀμφαλός*), II, 6. The word occurs also

²² W. Crönert's admirable revision of Passow in so far as it has reached our library extends only to the word *ἀρά*. It seems not to contain, however, *ἄκρον* as a technical term for "wing," *κέρας*, although use is made in it for the first time systematically of our author, e. g. s. v. *ἀκροβολιστής*, *ἀμφίστομος*, etc.

in Arrian-Aelian, VII, 3 (corrupted into *δραρος* in the Mil. Lex., § 23, and *δραγος* in Suidas, s. v. *διχοτομία*).

**γεωμέτριος*, ὁ, *a geometrician*, III, 1 (if the reading of F be followed; v. supra, p. 138).

**δίππευσις*, ἡ, *a break-through with cavalry*, VII, 3.

διφαλαγγία, ἡ, *a double-corps*, one-half of a phalanx, or 8192 men in the typical phalanx, II, 10. The term "double-phalanx" used by L. and S. is certainly misleading. To draw up an army in *διφαλαγγία* formation is to divide the phalanx in two, placing one half behind the other, as is clear from Polybius, II, 66, 9; XII, 20, 7. See also Aelian-Arrian, IX, 9 and the Mil. Lex., §§ 18 and 19.

διχοτομία, ἡ, *joining-point*, point of division between the two wings of an army (cf. *ἀραρός* and *ὀμφαλός*), II, 6. The same meaning is given also by Aelian, VII, 3 and the Mil. Lex. § 23, along with the ordinary sense of *διχοτομία*, as a division into two equal parts, but Arrian, VII, 3 expresses it *ἵνα δέ που ἡ διχοτομία γίνεται . . . ὀμφαλὸς ὀνομάζεται κτλ.*

ἐκτακτος, -ον; οἱ *ἐκτακτοί*, *supernumeraries*, attached originally to the *τάξις*, but later either to the *σύνταγμα*, II, 9, or the *ἐκατονταρχία* of light-armed troops, VI, 3, or else the phalanx of light-armed troops, VI, 3. The Thesaurus in an incomplete statement quotes only Aelian and the Mil. Lex.

ἐμπλέω, *ἐμπλεκόμενοι*, *incorporate*, used of light-armed troops incorporated with the hoplites, man beside man, VI, 1.

ἐναντίος, -α, -ον; ἀπ' *ἐναντίας*, *on the contrary* or *other hand*, I, 2. Van Herwerden gives several examples from Procopius.

ἐνωμοτία, ἡ, *a quarter of a file* (*λόχος*), II, 2. For this same use of the word in Hellenistic tactics, see Aelian-Arrian, V, 2, and the Mil. Lex. § 4, and compare K. and R., II, 2, pp. 243 f.

ἐξάριθμος, -ον, *outside the normal number, in addition to it, supernumerary*, II, 9. The Thesaurus quotes only the Mil. Lex.

ἐξελίσσω, *countermarch*, X, 1; XII, 11. The lexicons give only the meaning *deploy*, although L. and S. give *countermarching* as one of the meanings of *ἐξελιγμός*. The sense



countermarch is amply attested by Aelian-Arrian, XXVII, 1-5, and the Mil. Lex., § 39.

ἐπιθηραρχία, ἡ, a unit of four war-elephants, IX, 1.

ἐπικαθίστημι, to advance to original position, X, 11. Cf. *ἐπικατάστασις*.

**ἐπικατάστασις*, ἡ, advance to original position, after wheeling, X, 1 and 9. Cf. *ἀποκατάστασις*.

ἐπικουινώνω, to be attached to, or stationed upon, I, 3.

ἐπιξεναγός, ὁ, commander of an *ἐπιξεναγία*, i. e. 2048 *ψιλοί*, VI, 3.

The Thesaurus refers only to the Mil. Lex.

ἐπίταγμα, τό, supporting force, especially the phalanx of *ψιλοί*, 8192 men, VI, 3; VII, 10.

ἐπίταξις, ἡ, supporting position, X, 1 (cf. VII, 10).

ἐπιφάνεια, ἡ, facing, to the right or to the left, X, 4.

**ἐτεροστόμως*, adv. of *ἐτερόστομος*, used of the march of an army in column when the front-rank-men are on different sides of the two wings, XI, 4.

ζυγαρχία, ἡ, a military unit of two war-chariots, VIII, 1. L. and S. quote Asklepiodotos, indeed, but suggest the wrong definition, as of the command of a captain of cavalry. The Thesaurus fails to give the passage in Aelian. It is XXII, 2.

ζήραρχος, ὁ, the commander of one war-elephant, IX, 1. L. and S. take the word in Aelian, XXIII, 1 incorrectly as an adjective.

**ἡμισιάζω*, to halve, τὸ βάθος ἡμισίαζε, XII, 11.

θηραρχία, ἡ, a unit of two war-elephants, IX, 1.

θήραρχος, ὁ, a commander of two war-elephants, IX, 1.

ὀλάρχης, ὁ, a commander of eight war-elephants, IX, 1. The Thesaurus gives the correct meaning, but quotes no authority. Add Aelian, XXIII, 1 (*εὐλάρχης*).

ἱππαρχία, ἡ, two *Ταπαντιναρχίαι* of cavalry, VII, 11. The Thesaurus gives the correct meaning but quotes no authority. Add Aelian, XX, 2, and the Mil. Lex., § 32.

ἰσοσθενέω, be equally strong, *ἰσοσθενεῖν*, III, 4; *ἰσοσθενήσουσι*, III, 2. The Thesaurus and L. and S. quote only Galen and Cyril of Alexandria.

κεράρχης, ὁ, the commander of a *κέρας*, or wing, composed of 8192 men, II, 10; or, especially, the commander of 32 war-

elephants, IX, 1. The Thesaurus quotes only the Mil. Lex.

κέρας, τό, *a squadron of 32 war-chariots*, VIII, 1.

κοιλέμβολος, ὁ, *hollow wedge*, XI, 5. L. and S. and the Thesaurus give only *κοιλέμβολον* from Suidas.

λοξός, -ή, -όν; *λοξή φάλαγξ*, *a phalanx in march with extended front, one wing in advance of the other*, X, 1; XI, 1.

λοχαγός, ὁ, *the front man and leader of a file (λόχος)*, II, 2.

μεταγωγή, ἡ, *wheeling, manoeuvring*, VII, 5.

μήκος, τό, *the first line of a phalanx*, II, 5.

ξεναγία, ἡ, *two battalions of ψιλοί, a regiment of 512 men*, VI, 3 [supplied from Aelian, XVI, 3].

**ὀκταλοχία*, ἡ, *a unit of eight λόχοι*, II, 9.

**ὀκτωπάλαιστος*, -ον, *of eight palms, approximately 24 inches*, V, 1.

**ὁμοιοστόμως*, adverb of *ὁμοίοστομος*, used of marching in parallel columns, or also in sequence, the line of front-rank-men on the same side of each division, XI, 3; XI, 4.

ὀρθός, -ή, -όν, *eis ὀρθὸν ἀποδοῦναι, to face the front originally held, lines front*, X, 1.

οὐρά, ἡ; *ἐπ' οὐράν*, *about-face to the rear from the enemy*; *ἀπ' οὐρᾶς*, *about-face from the rear toward the enemy*, X, 3. The Thesaurus quotes only the Mil. Lex.

οὐραγός, ὁ, *the last man in file (λόχος)*, II, 2; III, 6, etc., the man at the rear angle of a squadron, VII, 2; a supernumerary to the τάξις, II, 9; or to the *ἐκατονταρχία*, VI, 3.

ὄχηματικός, -ή, -όν, *pertaining to the mounted force of an army, whether cavalry, chariots, or elephants*, I, 1 and 3. L. and S. (following the Thesaurus) quote only a gloss in the sense "of or for a vehicle."

παραγωγή, ἡ, *march-in line*, where the phalanx on the march keeps its original battle-line, whether marching with extended front or in column, X, 1; XI, 1 ff. L. and S. give only "a wheeling from column into line," but the usage of Asklepiodotos is attested by Aelian-Arrian, XXVI, 3 and the Mil. Lex., § 48.

παράταξις, ἡ, *the first line of a phalanx*, II, 5.

πεντηκονταρχία, ἡ, *two squads of ψιλοί, a platoon, consisting of 64 men*. VI, 3. The Thesaurus quotes only the Mil. Lex. Add Aelian-Arrian, XVI, 1.

πλάγιος, -α, -ον; πλαγία φάλαγξ, an army in march with the front extended, X, 1; XI, 1.

πρόπτωσις, ἡ, projection of spears in front of a phalanx, V, 1.

*προσένταξις, ἡ, flank position, used of light infantry stationed on the wings of the phalanx, VI, 1.

πρόταξις, ἡ, van position of ψιλοί, VI, 1. The Thesaurus quotes only Suidas and the Mil. Lex. Compare προτασσόμενοι, Aelian, XV, 1.

σημιοφόρος, ὁ, signalmán, II, 9; VI, 3. L. and S. (following the Thesaurus) give only the meaning "standardbearer." The Mil. Lex. § 14 (here clearly following Asklepiodotos) gives both term and definition, while Aelian, IX, 4 contains merely the term without definition.

Σκύθης, ὁ, archer-cavalry, I, 3.

στίφος, τό, two divisions of ψιλοί, a corps, of 4096 men, VI, 3.

στρατηγός, ὁ, a general, formerly of a corps of 4096 men, but properly of a full phalanx, II, 10.

σύζευξις, ἡ; κατὰ σύζευξιν, used of an army marching in parallel columns, XI, 2.

σulloχισμός, ὁ, drawing up by files, an arrangement of the phalanx with files parallel, II, 5. The Thesaurus quotes only the Mil. Lex. (= § 7). Add Aelian VI, 1.

συνεδρεύω, close up, draw together, of troops taking up the compact formation, III, 6 (cf. above, p. 138).

συνεπισκέπω, συνεπισκέπεσθαι, protect at the same time, of a shield for man and horse, I, 3.

σύνταγμα, a double τάξις, or a battalion, composed of 16 files, II, 8; III, 6; = συνταξιαρχία, II, 10.

*συνταξιαρχία, ἡ, a battalion, II, 9; takes the place of σύνταγμα, II, 10; III, 3 and 4.

*συνωμοτία, ἡ, a band of sworn soldiers, early designation of a file, II, 2 (cf. above, p. 137).

σύστασις, ἡ, four files of ψιλοί, a squad, consisting of 32 men, VI, 3.

ταξιαρχία, ἡ, a command of eight files of infantry, = τάξις, II, 10; III, 4.

ταξίαρχος, ὁ, commander of a τάξις or ταξιαρχία, II, 8.

τάξις, ἡ, a company, the same as ταξιαρχία, eight files of infantry, II, 8 and 9.

Ταραντινοί, οἱ, cavalry who fight only with javelins at a distance, I, 3. Listed and correctly defined only in Pape-Benseler: Wörterb. d. griech. Eigennamen.

τέλος, τό, *a division of infantry*, the same as μεραρχία, of 2048 men, II, 10; in cavalry, a half phalanx, VII, 11.

τόξευμα, τό, *a missile of any kind*, I, 2 (cf. above, p. 137).

τοξότης, ὁ, *archer-cavalry*, a special branch, the same as Σκύθης, I, 3.

ὑπερβάλλω; τὸ κέρας ὑπερβαλέσθαι, *to outflank on one wing only*, opposed to ὑπερφαλαγγέω, *outflank on both wings*, X, 2 and 18.

ὑποβαίνω, *follow*, as one rank at a certain interval behind another, V, 1.

ὑποστολή, ἡ; δι' ὑποστολῆς, *holding back*, X, 21.

ὑπόταξις, ἡ, *a rear-position*, used of light infantry stationed behind the phalanx, VI, 1.

φαλαγγάρχης, ὁ, *commander of a φαλαγγαρχία*, or corps, 4096 men, II, 10; *commander of the phalanx of war-elephants*, 64 in number, IX, 1.

φαλαγγαρχία, ἡ, *a corps*, 4096 men, II, 10. L. and S. suggest that the word is equivalent to *phalanx*, and quote only Suidas and the Byzantines. But the meaning as given above appears also in Aelian-Arrian, IX, 8, and in the Mil. Lex., § 17.

φάλαγξ, ἡ, *any branch of the army*, chapter heading I; I, 4; *the force of hoplites*, 16,384 men, II, 10, etc.; the full force of 64 war-chariots, VIII, 1.

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IV.—THE LATIN TEXT OF THE PARIS PSALTER: A COLLATION AND SOME CONCLUSIONS.

The Latin text of the famous "Paris Psalter" (Ms. 8824, fonds latin, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) has not been reprinted since the *editio princeps* by Thorpe¹ in 1835, altho both the "West-Saxon Psalms,"² the accompanying translation of the first "fifty," and the "Anglian Psalms,"³ the metrical version of pss. li-cl, have had modern editions. Meanwhile a number of students of these important Old English documents have used Thorpe's Latin text, with a pathetic reliance upon its fidelity and accuracy, for the determination of the exact relation of the versions juxtaposed in the Paris Psalter and their place in the succession of medieval Latin and Anglo-Saxon psalters; and far-reaching inferences have been drawn in recent years. In order to show the true character of Thorpe's text, a collation of the first fifty psalms with the original manuscript is hereby presented, together with an outline of alterations which seem to be indicated in certain over-hasty earlier conclusions.

A suspicion might well have been awakened by the fact that Thorpe does not vouch for the accuracy of the Latin portion of his work, as he does for the Anglo-Saxon. Of the latter he says in his "Praefatio" (p. vii): "Errores quos apertum est ex incuria librarii provenisse corrigere non dubitavi, omnes locos ad finem voluminis notans quibus emendandis operam navavi." This promise is fairly well fulfilled, considering the date of the edition, altho a glance at the textual notes of the latest editors will show that frequently, tho doubtless unintentionally, Thorpe has failed to reproduce the manuscript text of the West-Saxon

¹ *Libri Psalmorum Versio Antiqua; cum Paraphrasi Anglo-Saxonica, partim soluta oratione, partim metricè composita.* Nunc primum . . . descripsit et edidit Benjamin Thorpe. Oxonii, MDCOCXXXV.

² *Libri Psalmorum: The West-Saxon Psalms, being the Prose Portion, or the "First Fifty," of the so-called Paris Psalter,* J. W. Bright and R. L. Ramsay. Advanced Edition, 1907. (The Complete Edition, with Introduction and appended matter, will shortly be issued.)

³ *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie,* C. W. M. Grein and R. P. Wülker. III. Band, 2. Hälfte, 1898.

and Anglian Psalms. But with regard to the adjoining Latin he merely remarks (p. vi): "Versio Latina nullam mihi cognitam omnino refert, sed ad 'Versionem Antiquam Romanam' proxime accedit," adding in a footnote, "Ex hac versione lacunas textus Latini explevi." This last statement refers to the numerous lost pages for which Thorpe has supplied the missing Latin. His additions are inserted without indicating where they begin and end, and they are, as a matter of fact, far from being accurate transcripts of the Roman version; apparently they are merely copied in from the Vulgate, with occasional Roman readings. Nor did he hesitate, where the manuscript text lay before him, to make an extraordinary number of seemingly arbitrary changes.

In the collation made by Tanger⁴ in 1883, a considerable proportion, tho by no means all, of these changes were revealed. Tanger's useful article should have served as a warning to future investigators of the danger of implicit confidence in Thorpe's text; yet strange to say practically all of them have disregarded his warning and his list of variant readings alike.

The most serious offender is the latest to publish a study of the Anglo-Saxon psalters and their inter-relations. In his able and otherwise scholarly article,⁵ Wildhagen places the Latin text of the Paris Psalter latest in the succession of the English copies of the "Psalterium Romanum" furnished with vernacular renderings, on the ground of its containing the largest number of Gallican readings. Wildhagen's theory postulates a peculiar national text of the Latin Psalter going back in all probability to a single copy brought by the earliest Roman missionaries. This primitive Anglican text followed the Roman version in the main, but contained a very considerable number of distinctive variants, — partly readings carried in from pre-Hieronymian versions, partly certain Gallican readings that were presumably

⁴Gustav Tanger, "Collation des Pariser Altenglischen Psalters mit Thorpe's Ausgabe," *Anglia* VI (1883), *Anzeiger*, 125-141.

⁵Karl Wildhagen, *Studien zum Psalterium Romanum in England und zu seinen Glossierungen (in geschichtlicher Entwicklung)*, *Studien zur englischen Philologie*, L, 417-472, 1913. See also Wildhagen's earlier publications: *Der Psalter des Hadwines von Canterbury*, *Stud. z. eng. Phil.*, XII, 1905; *Archiv f. neuere Sprachen*, CXVI, 159-163, 1906; *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung*, 1909, 3106 f.; *Der Cambridger Psalter: I. Text mit Erklärungen*, Grein-Wülker, *Bibl. d. angels. Prosa*, VII, 1910.

found in the original English copy,⁶ and partly readings that are found only in the English manuscripts. Wildhagen attempts to determine this Anglican text in large part by a comparison of the nine Anglo-Saxon Psalters of the type that survive: namely, those known as the Salaberga, Blickling, Vespasian, Junius, Royal, Eadwine's, Bosworth, Cambridge, and Paris Psalters, which he ranges approximately in this order of time, from the end of the seventh to the beginning of the eleventh century.⁷ The succession is marked by a gradual replacement of what Wildhagen considers the primitive Anglican readings by the ordinary Roman text, and by the introduction of new readings, mainly Gallican. At the end of this process Wildhagen places the Latin text of the Paris Psalter, when the Roman text was being superseded altogether by the Gallican under the influence of the Benedictine Reform and the rising Norman influence; and accordingly it belongs in order of development just between the two traditions, Roman and Gallican, the latter being represented in England by the Spelman (or Stowe), Vitellius, Tiberius, Lambeth, Arundel, and Salisbury

* With regard to these Gallican variants found from the beginning in the English psalters of the Roman type, Wildhagen seems to have changed his opinion. In his study of Eadwine's Psalter (p. 213) he maintained that they are only apparently Gallican,—that each instance really goes back to one of the Old Latin or pre-Hieronymian versions, or else to a patristic rendering that was carried into the original English copy, any coincidence with the Gallican being purely accidental. The same explanation is strenuously defended in his review of Roeder's edition of the Royal Psalter (*Archiv f. n. Spr.* CXVI, 159 f.). But in the *Studien zum Psalterium Romanum* (p. 421), he admits the possibility of early direct influence from the Gallican version,—“vielleicht hier und da in Anlehnung an Hieronymus' Bearbeitung des Psalterium Gallicanum—die von Gallien aus eingeführt bis zum 6. Jahrhundert in England verbreitet gewesen war.” Here lies the weakest point in his whole theory; for if there were numerous Gallican readings already present in the Anglican archetype, manifestly it becomes impossible to say whether a Gallican reading found only in two or three, or even in one, of the surviving psalters, is a part of the primitive stock that has been regularized out of the others, or an instance of the rising tide of later Gallican influence.

⁷ *Eadwine's Psalter* is, of course, in its present form a product of the early twelfth century; but Wildhagen holds that its Latin text was fixed about 950, approximately about the same time as the Royal, and a little earlier than the Cambridge Psalter.

Psalters.⁸ Wildhagen's order, while of course not wholly, is largely derived from a detailed comparison of readings; and this is especially the case with his conclusions about the Paris Psalter. As an important corollary, he holds that the prose West-Saxon Psalms and the Latin text were copied into the Paris Psalter from the same manuscript, both alike having been produced at Malmesbury, whereas the Anglian Psalms were taken from another manuscript brought to Malmesbury from Mercian territory, probably from Worcester.⁹

But when we discover, as the present collation will show, and as Wildhagen might have learned in large part from Tanger, that the extensive concessions to Ga supposedly found in P are non-existent, an important part of the foundation for his theory disappears. For example, Wildhagen illustrates the supposed character of the P text by citing (p. 466) the following Ga readings from Thorpe's edition:

ix. 23, quaeret (inquiret Ro); xi. 7, argentum igne examinatum probatum (Ro om. probatum) terrae; xii. 5, in misericordia tua speravi (in tua misericordia sperabo Ro); xvi. 12, eripe animam meam ab impio frameam tuam ab inimicis manus tuae (. . . frameam inimicorum de manu tua Ro); xvi. 13, a paucis de terra divide eos in vita eorum (a paucis a terra dispertire eos et supplantare eos in vita ipsorum Ro); xxiv. 18, non erubescam (domine non confundar Ro); lvii. 4, et venifici incantantis sapienter (et veneficia quae incantantur a sapiente Ro); xcv. 9, dicite in gentibus quia (Ro om. quia) dominus regnavit.

But of the eight supposed Ga readings only one¹⁰ is actually found in the Paris manuscript! Thorpe alone is responsible for the other departures cited; and furthermore, except for one

⁸The usual abbreviations are used in this article: A = Vespasian, B = Junius, C = Cambridge, D = Royal, E = Eadwine's, D¹ = Blickling, L = Bosworth, P = Paris; F = Spelman, G = Vitellius, H = Tiberius, I = Lambeth, J = Arundel, K = Salisbury; Ro = Roman Version, Ga = Gallican Version.

⁹*Studien zum Psalterium Romanum*, pp. 469 f.

¹⁰At xi. 7 the manuscript does have the word probatum omitted in Ro. In the other seven passages it is faithful to Ro, with some variations found also in the other Psalters: thus at xxiv. 18 P reads non confundar, omitting domine, as do also A and B; and at lvii. 4, according to Tanger, P reads et uenefici que incantantur a sapiente, with A, B, C, D, and E.

minor change of order, the correct reading had already been supplied by Tanger. On another page (p. 469, note 4), Wildhagen affirms that frequently P gives a mixed reading, blending Ro and Ga. The passages he cites as examples are ix. 24, xi. 3, xxvi. 5, xxx. 4, xlv. 2. In every case the apparent mixture is the work of Thorpe; and again Thorpe's changes had already been corrected by Tanger.

Wildhagen does not profess to have given a complete list of the Ga readings he has found in P. He reserves a complete treatment (p. 469) for the second volume, which has not appeared, of his edition of the Cambridge Psalter. But in the first volume, "Text mit Erklärungen," published in 1910, he has very frequently cited the Latin text of P, with equally unfortunate results. His references, which are all taken from Thorpe, are wrong in the following instances,¹¹ as may be seen by comparing them with the corrections made below:

ii. 13; vii. 15; viii. 8; ix. 7, 13, 24, 25, 31; xiii. 6; xvi. 1; xvii. 5, 13, 33, 45; xviii. 9; xxi. 21; xxv. 7, 8, 9; xxviii. 9; xxix. 13; xxxi. 4; xxxiii. 15; xxxiv. 7; xxxvi. 21, 25, 36; xxxvii. 7, 14, 16, 20; xxxviii. 7; xxxix. 5; xl. 2, 3, 7; xlv. 3; xlviii. 8, 15, 16; xlix. 4, 9, 21, 23; l. 9. For the second and third fifties the following should be compared with Tanger: lvi. 10; lvii. 6; lxvii. 8, 22; lxviii. 36, 37; lxix. 4; lxxi. 6; lxxxv. 17; lxxxix. 9; ciii. 2, 11, 19; cxvii. 8; cxviii. 171; cxxxi. 11; cxlvii. 18. Most of these are cases where, instead of having a Ga reading, as Wildhagen had gathered from Thorpe, P really agrees with Ro or with one or more of the other English copies of Ro. We even find Wildhagen gravely citing as P the substitutes which Thorpe provided, as he explains in the passage from the Praefatio quoted above, for the pages cut out of the manuscript (e. g., at xx. 7, 9, 13; xxxviii. 2; l. 16, 18; lxvii. 36; etc.),—an example of laborious futility that almost justifies some of the strictures made of late upon Teutonic scholarship.

But Wildhagen was not the first to rely blindly upon Thorpe and ignore Tanger. Wichmann¹² in 1889, in his study of the

¹¹ The verse numbering followed by Wildhagen is that of Sweet in his edition of the Vespasian Psalter, and frequently differs from that of Thorpe.

¹² J. Wichmann, "König Aelfred's angelsächsische Uebersetzung der Psalmen I-LI excl.," *Anglia* XI (1889), p. 42 f.

authorship and character of the West-Saxon Psalms, attempted to decide the important question whether the Anglo-Saxon prose version is translated from the accompanying Latin text or not, by citing nineteen evident discrepancies. Among them are twelve in which Thorpe's text is incorrect:¹³ vi. 8; vii. 9, 10; ix. 12; xxvi. 5 (two cases); xxvii. 1; xxxvi. 36 (two cases); xxxviii. 7, 9; xl. 2; and in at least nine of these when the correct text is secured the discrepancy disappears. Similarly Dr. Bruce,¹⁴ in comparing the Anglian Psalms with the Latin text for the same purpose, has cited twelve discrepancies, three of which (lvii. 4; cxv. 2; cxvii. 4) a consultation of Tanger would have removed. The conclusions drawn by Wichmann and Bruce, namely that neither West-Saxon nor Anglian Psalms are based upon the accompanying Latin, are both certainly correct, and I shall attempt later in this article to support them; but their reliance upon Thorpe is reliance upon a broken reed. In view, therefore, of the numerous cases in which scholars have been misled by Thorpe's so-called edition,¹⁵ it seems worth while to publish a collation of his Latin text with the original manuscript.

The present collation was made by the writer in the summer of 1905 at the Bibliothèque Nationale. It included both a verification of Tanger's readings,¹⁶ and an independent comparison of Thorpe's text with the original Paris Psalter. I have attempted to list all the variations from Thorpe, even those merely orthographical, except his constant substitution of v for u and j for i. Tanger, altho usually accurate, needs correction in a number of cases, and he is far from complete. Not only does he disregard smaller differences of orthography such as the variations between æ, ǣ, e, and e, ch and c, h and ch, and most cases of the omission or addition of h, all of which, as Wildhagen

¹³ Thorpe's verse numbering.

¹⁴ J. D. Bruce, *The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Book of Psalms commonly known as the Paris Psalter*. 1894, pp. 123-126 (*PMLA* IX).

¹⁵ Thorpe is also mentioned, strangely enough, as an important source for the reconstitution of the Roman text, by A. Rahlfs, *Der Septuaginta-Psalter*, Septuaginta Studien, Heft 2, Göttingen, 1907; but Rahlfs makes no detailed citations.

¹⁶ Tanger's readings were independently verified during the same summer by Professor James W. Bright, whose assistance is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

has demonstrated, are significant for the exact determination of the relation of texts, but he has overlooked a considerable number of larger changes introduced by Thorpe. In all, for the first fifty psalms Tanger notes about 225 distinct alterations of the text, and I have added about 75, making some 300 in all; the number of merely orthographical changes which I have noted is considerably larger. For the sake of completeness, all of Tanger's readings are here reproduced (followed in each case by a T), with any corrections that seem necessary.

The collation was limited to psalms i-l, or that portion of the Latin text that corresponds to the West-Saxon Psalms. If, as I believe will become evident, the Latin has only a fortuitous connection with either of the adjoining Anglo-Saxon versions, and merely offers another copy of the same general type of text as those found in the Vespasian, Junius, Royal, Eadwine's, and Cambridge Psalters, which have already been published, it will hardly be worth any future editor's while to reprint it; and perhaps the exact picture of the original which I trust this collation will supply for the first third of its extent will give sufficient basis for the determination of its relations to the other copies of the *Psalterium Romanum* as used by the Anglo-Saxon Church.

Ps. i. 1. "*Von BEATUS ist B noch deutlich, E nur noch schwach sichtbar; von A ist wenig mehr als ein stück des querstriches übrig; darauf folgt ein brauner quadratischer fleck, der etwa den raum eines T bedeckt; im übrigen ist keine spur von anderen buchstaben erhalten*" (T). *habiit* (T). *câthedra* (T); rather *câthedra. pestilentie*. 2. *ac for last et*. 4. *décidet* (T). *quecunque. fécerit* (T). 5. *proici & ventos. terre*. 6. *resurgunt* (T).

Ps. ii. 1. *fremuerun* (T). 2. *adstiterunt. terre*. 3. *Disrumpamus. proiciamus*. 4. *celis. inridebit*. 5. *conturbauit* (T). 6. *preceptum. Domini for last ejus* (T). 8. *terre*. 9. *figuli*. 10. *intellegite. omnes before qui* (T). 12. *Adprehendite*. 13. *in eum* (T).

Ps. iii. 1. *anime mee*. 5. *milia*. 6. *michi*.

Ps. iv. 1. *iustitie mee. me for mihi* (T). 2. *michi*. 3. *gravis* (T). *diligitis* (T). *queritis*. 4. *dum for cum. clamarem* (T). 5. *que for quae. & before in cubilibus* (T). *conpungimini*. 6. *iustitie*. 8. *letitiam*.

Ps. v. 1. intellege. mee *for* meae. 3. adstabo. 5. locuntur. 7. misericordie tue. 12. letentur. eternum. 13. bone. tue.

Ps. vi. 2. michi *for* mei(T). 3. Et *for* Sed. Domine (*second time*) omitted (T). 5. singulos (T). 6. pre. 8. retrorsum *after* auertantur(T).

Ps. vii. 1. Dne *without sign of abbreviation*(T). 4. michi. 5. comprehendat. eam *after* comprehendat(T). 6. tuorum *for* meorum (T). 7. Et omitted(T). 8. *This verse includes iudica me domine from verse 9*(T). 9. super me *after* meorum(T). 10. Consummetur. dirige(T).

13. paravit (*second time*) omitted(T). effécit(T). 14. parurit(T). 15. effódit(T). incidit(T). 16. capite(T). descendit(T).

Ps. viii. 2. celos. lactantium(T). 3. destruam(T). 4. celos. tuos omitted(T). quas(T). 5. aud *for* aut. 7. uniuersa(T). 8. celi.

Ps. ix. 2. L&tabor. 3. perient(T). 4. aequitatem. 5. eternum. seculum saeculi. 6. T *reads* defecerun; *but ms. has -nt. framea*(T). 7. eternum. 8. equitate. 12. Adnuntiate. orationem *for* clamorem. 13. "*St. ut hat der Cod. Uut; doch ist wol das goldene U nachträglich aus versehen dahin geraten, so dass es scheint, als ob hinter mortis ein neuer vers anfängt, im widerspruch zum ae., welches zu Thorpe stimmt.*"(T); *no new verse is indicated here.* filiae. 14. infixe. comprehensus. 15. comprehensus. 16. qui(T). 18. preualeat. 21. comprehenduntur. 22. laudator(T). anime sue. iniqua(T). benedicetur(T). 23. Irritabit. dominus(T). ire sue. inquir& *for* non quaeret(T). 24. pulluuntur. uie. eius *for* illius(T). 28. sedet omitted(T). 29. sicut *for* quasi. 30. adtrahit. "*St. in laqueo hat ms. Iin; der fall ist hier derselbe wie oben v. 13*"(T); *no new verse.* humiliavit(T). inclinavit(T). 31. usque *before* in finem(T). 34. dolorum(T). in manibus tuis(T). 36. eternum. seculum seculi. 38. adponat.

Ps. x. 1. anime mee. 2. tetenderunt(T). 3. que *for* quae. 4. celo. 5. palpebre. 6. hodit *for* odit(T). 7. Pluit(T). et omitted *before* sulphur. 8. iustitiam(T). equitatem.

Ps. xi. 1. diminute. 2. Vana locuti sunt unusquisque (*mala omitted*)(T). locuti sunt mala(T). 3. maliloquam(T). 4. est *before* dominus(T). 5. exurgam. 7. terre. 8. eternum.

Ps. xii. 1. VSQUEQuo *for* Quousque(T). quousque *for*

usquequo(T). avertis(T). 2. animam meam(T). 4. "4 umfasst im Codex auch noch 5 bis adversus eum, ebenso ae. bis þonne he; v. 5 beginnt also im Codex mit Qui und þa; die beiden initialen fehlen jedoch"(T); *Tanger seems wrong here: a new verse (no. 5) begins with Ne quando as in Thorpe, only the capitals have been omitted; v. 6 begins with Qui, and vs. 7 with Exultabit. in tua misericordia. sperabo(T). 6. michi.*

Ps. xiii. 1. abhominabiles. 3. celo. 6. uelociter(T). 9. deum for Dominum(T). 10. deus for first Dominus(T). iuxta for justa(T). confudisti. deus for Dominus (second time). 11. sue. 12. Letetur.

Ps. xiv. 1. habitauit(T). 4. mala(T). proximum suum(T). 5. nichilum. 7. hec. commovebitur(T).

Ps. xv. 1. indies (= indiges?) for eges(T). 3. Multiplicati(T). enim after sunt(T). 4. ero omitted(T). illorum for second eorum(T). 5. hereditatis mee. meis for mei(T). michi. hereditatem. 6. michi. preclaria. hereditas. preclara. michi. 7. michi. 8. ad for a(T). michi. nec for ne. 10. infernum(T). 11. michi. vite. letitia.

Ps. xvi. 1. deprecationi mee(T). 2. equitatem. 6. michi. 7. "7 umfasst im lat. auch noch v. 8 bis tue"(T). dextere tue. 8. affligerunt. 10. Proicientes. 11. predam. 12. Exsurge. preueni(T). framea inimicorum de manu tua(T). 13. a terra dispartire eos et supplantare eos in uita ipsorum; "damit schliesst der vers; das folgende ist im Codex zu v. 14 gezogen"(T). impletum(T). 14. porcina(T). que for quae.

Ps. xvii. 3. mee. et before adjutor omitted(T). 4. iniquitates(T). 5. preuenerunt. 8. exardescet(T). 9. celos. caligo(T). 10. cherubin(T). 12. fulgora(T), carbones(T). 13. celo. Altimus(T). 16. ire tue. 17. adsumpsit. 18. hoderunt. 19. Preuenerunt. mee. 20. michi. michi. 22. reppuli.
^{or} 23. c,um (cum corrected to corum; T reads c,am). ^{or} 24. michi. 26. facias. 27. inluminas. inlumina. 28. temptatione. 29. inpolluta(T). uie(T). 30. preter. preter. 31. precinxit. uirtutem(T). immaculatam. 33. prelium. posuit. ereum. 34. michi. 36. "Von cadent bis meos . . . im Codex zu v. 37 gezogen"(T). 37. precinxisti. 38. michi. hodiescentes. 40. illos for first eos(T). 41. capud(T). 42. cognouit(T). michi. ab for in(T). michi. 43. mentiti(T). michi. 44. mee for meae. 45. vindictam(T).

Ps. xviii. 2. eructuat(T). 3. loquele. 4. terrae. 6. gigantes(T). celo. sé. 7. prestans. iustitie. recte. letificantes. preceptum. inluminans. "Von justitiae bis oculos . . . ist im Codex zu v. 8 gezogen"(T); *Tanger is wrong: a new verse begins with Timor, as in Thorpe, but the gold of the T is faint.* 8. "permanens: von ns ist nur der erste grundstrich des n noch schwach sichtbar, dahinter eine kleine lücke"(T); *ms. has permanet. seculum seculi.* 10. custodi&(T). ea for illa(T). in custo illa(sic)(T). 11. domine after me(T). 12. immaculatus.

Ps. xix. 2. santo(T). 3. omnes(T). 5. Letabimur. 6. Impleat for faciat(T). faciat for fecit(T). celo. dextere. 7. Hii for hi (twice)(T). 8. resurreximus(T).

Ps. xx. 1. letabitur. exultauit. 2. anime. voluntatem. 3. preuenisti. 4. in seculum et omitted(T). 5. "Mit est gloria . . . schliesst fol. 20"(T).

Ps. xxi. 1. "Die worte Verba delictorum meorum beginnen im Codex v. 2"(T). 2. michi. 5. obprobrium. 8. mee. meę. 13. adhesit. 14. concilium. 17. aspice. 18. Deus omitted(T). 20. fratribus. ecclesie. 21. magnificate for glorificate(T). 23. aecclesia. 24. "24 umfasst im Codex auch noch 25 bis seculi"(T). 25. universe. terrae. 26. patrie. 27. terre. 29. Adnuntiabitur. adnuntiabunt. celi.

Ps. xxii. 1. nichil. michi. pascue. 3. semitam(T). i^ustitie. 4. umbre. és(T). 7. Inpinguasti. preclarum. 8. uite mee.

Ps. xxiii. 1. ea for eo. 2. mária. eam(T). illam(T). 3. ascendit(T). 5. domino for Deo(T). deo for Domino(T). 6. Hec. querentium. 7. T reads porte for portas wrongly; *ms. has portas. porte for postes. eternals. glorie.* 8. Quis, iste for Quis est iste. glorie. prelio. 9. porte eternals. glorie. 10. glorie. glorie.

xxiv. 2. inrideant. 3. michi. 5. Reminiscere miserationum tuarum, domine, et misericordie tue, que a seculo sunt(T). 6. iuuentutis mee. ignorantie mee. "Hinter memor esto mei hat Codex noch deus, womit dieser vers schliesst; der rest desselben bei Thorpe bildet im Codex einen selbständigen vers, dem im Codex Thorpe's ae. v. 7 gegenübersteht. Thorpe's lat. v. 7 ist im Codex mit Thorpe's ae. v. 8 bis eac rihtwis zusammengestellt . . . Thorpe's lat. v. 8 steht zusammen mit dem rest seines ae. v. 8 von Ealle bis lufiað; . . . Thorpe hat die hier

vorliegende unordnung trotz seiner willkürlichen abweichung vom ms. nicht beseitigt; sie ist jedoch leicht zu heben, wenn man die ersten drei zeilen seines ae. v. 8: 'For pinre godnesse, drihten, þu eart swete, and wynsum, and eac rihtwis' dem vers 6 anschliesst, wie Thorpe das im lat. mit 'propter bonitatem tuam, domine: dulcis et rectus dominus' getan hat. In vers 7 ist seine anordnung richtig, und von v. 8 ab herrscht auch im Codex wieder ordnung."(T). *The confusion may be more clearly described as follows: in the Latin v. 7 should begin with Propter bonitatem tuam, v. 8 with Propter hoc legem, and v. 9 with Uniuerse uie Domini; in the Old English Thorpe's verse division correctly reproduces the ms., except that v. 9 should begin with Ealle Godes wegas; and the correspondence in sense is as follows: Latin v. 7 = Old English v. 8, Latin v. 8 = Old Eng-*

lish v. 7, Latin v. 9 = Old English v. 9. 13. ms. has laque, pedes (o inserted in corrector's black ink). 14. "14 und 15 scheinen im Codex nur einen vers zu bilden, doch fehlen die initialen von Tribulationes und von And"(T); *ms. has ribulationis, but clearly a new verse is intended. 15. dilatate. 16. omnia peccata for universa delicta*(T). 17. hodio. hoderunt. 18. confundar for erubescam(T). 19. adheserunt michi.

Ps. xxv. 1. infirmabo. 2. tempta. 4. concilio. 6. circuibo for circumdabo (cf. Ps. xxvi. 7) (T). 7. laudis tue. et omitted(T). 8. domus tue. tabernaculis(T). glorie tue. 9. Deus omitted. "Mit iniquitates sunt . . . schliesst im Codex fol. 28"(T).

Ps. xxvi. 1. inluminatio. 2. defensor for protector(T). uite mee. 3. innocentes for nocentes(T). 4. proelium. 5. uite mee. "Die lücke im ae. v. 5 ist im Codex nicht bezeichnet, vielmehr steht And geseon etc. in gleicher höhe mit Unam etc. Der schluss von ut videam bis ejus fehlt im Codex"(T). 7. capud(T). 10. Et omitted before ne auertas(T). et present before ne declines. 12. adsumpsit. 13. michi. semita recta(T). 14. persequetium for tribulantium(T). mentita(T). 15. ^{ould} ms. has Cred, ere. "15 und 16 lat. und ae. bilden im Codex nur einen vers"(T).

Ps. xxvii. 1. nequando taceas a me omitted(T). 2. mee. 5. nequitia(T). secundum opera manuum eorum tribue illis omitted(T). 7. Destrue(T). edificabis. mee. 9. sue. 10. hereditati tue. usque before in seculum.

Ps. xxviii. 1. adferte (*twice*). 2. adferte (*twice*). 6. solitudinem *for* desertum. 7. preparantis. reualauit(T). 8. habit&(T). eternum. 9. uirtutum(T). Dominus *omitted*. et *before* benedicet.

Ps. xxix. 3. memorie. 4. in *omitted before* indignatione(T). 5. letitia. 6. in mea habundantia(T). eternum. 7. prestitisti. 8. Quę. 9. adnuntiabit. 10. michi *for* mei(T). 11. michi. precinxisti. letitia. cantem(T). 12. eternum.

Ps. xxx. 1. eternum. 2. "Inclinadme *mit trennungsstrichen vor und hinter* ad"(T); *I found no marks visible before or after* ad as per T. 3. michi. 4. fortitudo mea et *omitted*(T). et refugium meum *after* firmamentum meum(T). michi. 5. michi. 7. letabor. 8. me *omitted*. manus(T). 9. michi. 13. obprobrium. 19. Inlumina. 20. que. in *omitted before* contemptu(T). 21. tuę. 24. circumstantie. 26. mee. 27. habundantur(T).

Ps. xxxi. 1. remisse. 4. erumna. confringitur *for* configitur(T). spina(T). 7. orauit. adproximabunt. 8. michi, pressura(T). que. 10. equis(T). 13. Letamini.

Ps. xxxii. 2. cordarum. ei *for* illi. 4. rectum. 5. cęli. 6. thesauros(T). 8. Quoniam *for* Quia(T). 10. ęternum. 11. hereditatem. 12. celo. preparato. 13. singillatim(T). in *before* omnia. 14. gigans. sue. 15. habundantia(T). sue. 16. "Hinter eum *ist im Codex ein punkt, und dahinter heisst es: sperantes autem in misericordia eius*" (*for et in eis, qui sperant super misericordia ejus*) (T). 17. "Hinter noster *est im Codex ein punkt; dahinter: & in ipso letabitur u. s. w.*"(T).

Ps. xxxiii. 2. letentur. 3. in inuicem. 4. Inquisiui(T). 5. inluminamini. 7. Inmittit(T). 9. nichil. 12. uidere(T). 13. Coibe. 14. Deuerte. sequere *for* persequere. 18. his *for* iis(T). 19. Multe. 21. hoderunt. 22. in eum(T).

Ps. xxxiv. 1. inpu gnantes. 2. Adprehende. exsurge. michi. 3. persecuntur. anime mee. 4. querunt. 5. michi. 6. affligens(T). 7. uie. tenebre. 8. michi. in *before* interitum(T). supervacue *omitted*(T). 9. T reads *ignorat, but ms. has ignorant*. laqueo(T). incidant(T). in idipsum(T). 10. exultauit(T). 11. inopum(T). egenum(T). 12. Exsurgentes. quę. michi. et *after* bonis(T). sterelitatem. anime mee. 13. dum *for* cum(T). michi. et *before* humiliabam. 14. ita *for* sic (*first time*). tamquam *for* quasi. ita *for* sic (*second*



time)(T). 15. letati. ignorauerunt(T). 17. eorum *after* male factis(T). 19. michi. hoderunt. annuebant(T). 20. michi. 22. Exsurge. 23. insultent in me *for* supergaudeant mihi(T). anime nostre. 24. pudore *omitted after* erubescant(T). pudore *for* confusione(T).

Ps. xxxv. 3. intellegere. 4. Adstitit. uie. bone. hodiuit. 5. celo. 8. tue (*twice*). 9. aput. uite. 10. Pretende. 11. michi. superbie. 12. omnes *omitted*.

Ps. xxxvi. 1. emulari. emulatus. 2. tamquam *for* sicut(T). fenum. sicut *for* quemadmodum(T). holera(T). 6. tamquam *for* quasi. 8. emuleris. 9. hereditatem. 10. et non *for* nec(T). queris(T). nec *for* et non(T). 12. fremit(T). inridebit. 13. et *omitted before* tetenderunt(T). deiciant. inopem(T). trucidant(T). 14. conteretur(T). 17. immaculorum. hereditas. eternum. 20. soluet *for* commodat(T). commodat *for* tribuit(T). 22. nimis. 24. Juvenior(T). et *for* etenim(T). 25. commodat(T). 27. aeternum. 29. J of Justi *omitted*(T). hereditatem. seculum. 32. querit. dampnabit. 34. libani(T). 35. Et *omitted before* transiui(T). et *omitted before* quesui. 36. ueritatem *for* innocentiam(T). equitatem *for* ueritatem(T). reliquie. hominum(T). 37. reliquie. 39. eripiet *for* eruet(T).

Ps. xxxvii. 2. sagitte tue infixæ. michi. 3. ire tue. et *before* non(T). 4. meæ. honus. grauate. 5. Computruerunt. cicatrices(T). meæ. insipientie meæ. 6. turbatus *for* curuatus(T). 7. completa. inlusionibus. 8. "Vv. 8 and 9 bilden im Codex nur einen vers"(T). 9. et *for* Domine(T). 11. adpropinquauerunt *for* adpropinquauerunt(T). 12. querebant. michi. 13. uel ut *for* tamquam(T). sicut *for* uelut(T). aperuit(T). 14. ut *for* uelut(T). 15. me *omitted*. 16. ne aliquando *for* Nequando(T). insultent *for* supergaudeant(T). 17. ad *for* in(T). 19. Initial I missing(T). uiuent(T). hoderunt. 20. michi. michi. 21. meæ.

Ps. xxxviii. 6. "Nach dem ae. argument ist das letzte fünftel von fol. 45^v unbeschrieben. Auf fol. 46^r fängt das Lat. an mit tas omnis homo, das Ae. wie bei Thorpe, nur dass die lückenbezeichnung im Codex fehlt. Soweit v. 6 überhaupt vorhanden, ist er im Codex mit v. 7 zusammengeschrieben"(T). 7. in *omitted*(T); where in should be there has been an erasure. imaginem(T). dei *after* imaginem. conturbabitur(T). 8. "Vv. 8 und 9 sind ebenfalls im Codex zusammengeschrieben"(T).

Thesaurizat for Congregat(T). ignórat(T). congregat for congregabit(T). 9. que. nichil. ante for apud(T). 10. obprobrium. 11. T reads tua for tuas wrongly; ms. has tuas. tua for tuae. 13. Uerumptamen. "Vv. 13 und 14 im Codex zusammengezogen"(T). 14. lacrimas. 15. aput(T). 16. michi. priusquam.

Ps. xxxix. 1. miserie. fecis. 2. inmisit. 4. uanitate(T). 6. adnuntiaui. michi. 9. aecclesia. "Die worte Domine tu cognovisti bilden im Codex den anfang von v. 10"(T). 10. The ms. has a raised dot after Justitiam tuam, and no mark of punctuation after corde meo. abscondi for celavi(T). 11. celavi for abscondi(T). 12. semper omitted. 13. conprehenderunt. meae. 15. Conplaceat. eripias(T). 16. querunt. 17. michi. 18. michi. 19. letentur. querunt.

Ps. xl. 1. intellegit. liberauit(T). 2. faciet(T). 3. uniuersi strati (Thorpe's Note). 5. michi. periet(T). 6. si omitted(T). The ms. has no mark after viderent, but a raised dot after vana. 7. "7 umfasst im Codex von v. 8 auch noch die worte: in unum susurrabunt; ae. wie bei Thorpe"(T). 8. susurrabunt(T). michi. 9. adici&. meę. edebant(T). subplantationem. 10. illis for eis(T). 11. quoniam for quia(T). quia for quoniam(T). 12. eternum.

Ps. xli. 2. fontem omitted(T). 3. michi lacryme meę. michi cotidie. 4. Haec. 8. cataratarum(T). 10. uite meę. 11. reppulisti. tristis for tristatus(T). adfligit. 12. omnia before ossa(T). michi.

Ps. xlii. 2. reppulisti. adfligit. 4. letificat.

Ps. xliii. 1. adnuntiauerunt. 3. Initial M missing(T). adflixisti. et omitted before expulisti. 5. inluminatio. complacuit tibi (apparently altered from complacuisti). 9. adfligentibus. hoderunt. 11. reppulisti. 12. pre. nos hoderunt for oderunt nos. diripuebant(T). 15. in before obprobrium. 19. Haec. 20. afflictionis. 23. estimati. 24. Exsurge (twice). 25. obliuiscens for oblivisceris. 26. adhesit. 27. Exsurge.

Ps. xliv. 2. scribe. 3. pre. V. 4 in the ms. begins with propterea benedixit(T). aeternum. 7. Sagitte tue acute. in omitted before corda(T). 8. Sedis(T). et omitted. 9. hodisti. letitie pre. 10. gradibus for domibus. filie. 11. ad dextris. de aurata(T). 13. filie. 14. filie. 15. fimbreis(T). "Von Adducentur und von Eala kyning ab im Codex zu v. 16 gezogen"(T). 16. Afferentur

omitted(T). letitia. 19. æternum (*digraph used here for first time*).

Ps. xlv. 1. que. 2. conturbabuntur(T). 3. turbate. aque. 4. letificat. "4 umfasst auch noch non commovebitur von v. 5"(T). 5. Conturbata. 7. que. 8. terre. conburet.

Ps. xlvi. 2. Rex magnus super omnem terram omitted(T). 4. he hereditatem [sic](T). 5. tube. 7. terra. 9. *ms reads congruenerunt, with the g partially erased between n and u; did the scribe start to write the Gall. congregati sunt?* dñi. terre.

Ps. xlvii. 2. exultationis uniuerse terre. syon. latere. 3. dinoscitur. 4. terre. 5. adprehendit. 7. eternum. 8. medio omitted(T). 9. terre. 10. Letetur. syon. filiae Jude. 11. syon. 12. Deus omitted (*second time*). eternum.

Ps. xlviii. 1. hec. 2. terrigene. 4. aurem *after* similitudinem. 6. multitudine omitted. in habundantiarum. 7. redemit [*twice*](T). anime sue. et *for* nec(T). laborauit(T). eternum. 8. morientes(T). 9. sepulchra. eternum. 12. Hec. 13. posita(T). depascit(T). 14. matutina(T). ueterescent(T). a omitted *before* gloria. 15. Verumptamen. liberauit(T). 17. haec. descendit(T). 19. eternum.

Ps. xlix. 2. exion *for* ex Sion(T). 5. uocauit(T). celum. 7. celi. 8. quoniam *before first* Deus(T). 10. tuo *for* tua. hyrcos. 11. meę. fere. 12. celi. 13. terre. 14. hyrcorum. 16. tue *after* tribulationis(T). 18. hodisti. T *reads* poste *for* postea, *wrongly; ms. has* post te. 20. T *reads* habundauit *for* abundauit; *but ms. has* habundabit. nequitiam(T). 21. tue. 22. Haec. iniquitatem *for* inique(T). tibi *for* tui(T). 23. illam *after* statuam. Intellegite haec. 24. T *reads* honorificauit, *but ms. has* honorificauit. in *before* quo(T).

Ps. l. 7. sapientię tue. michi. 8. hysopo. 9. letitiam. "Mit humiliata und blissian schliesst fol. 63 des Codex"(T). "fol. 64 fängt an mit adiutorem sibi (Th. Ps. li, v. 6, mitte), welches in gleicher höhe steht mit den ae. anfangsworten fore ænigre"(T).

For the rest of the Psalter I have collated only Tanager's notes on the loss of pages from the manuscript.

Ps. lxvii. 28. "Codex fol. 79 schliesst mit gentes que . . . Zwischen diesem und dem folgenden blatte sind noch geringe spuren eines herausgerissenen blattes zu bemerken."(T).

Ps. lxxix. 18. "Mit uirtutum . . . schliesst im Codex fol. 97. Der rest eines blattes vor fol. 98 ist noch sichtbar"(T).

Ps. lxxx. 8. "gif þu etc. steht im Codex Thorpe's lat. v. 9 gegenüber, mit welchem fol. 98^r anfängt" (T).

Ps. xcvi. 1. "Mit multe und gar sæcge schliesst im Codex fol. 113; dahinter ist keine spur mehr von einem fehlenden blatte vorhanden" (T).

Ps. xcvi. 8. "Mit manibus und stundum beginnt im Codex fol. 114^r" (T).

Ps. cviii. 30. "Dieser psalm schliesst ab mit fol. 132, welches selbst eingeschnitten ist; fol. 133 fängt an mit ruinas conuasaut [Th., ps. ciz, v. 7]" (T).

Ps. cl. 3. "Mit tube-lau und æ. beman schliesst im Codex fol. 175^v. Dieses, sowie das vorige blatt dicht am rücken weit eingeschnitten. Hinter fol. 175 ist ein blatt herausgeschnitten" (T).

The following table will make clearer the facts about these losses. They occur at nine places in the manuscript, and involve the loss of the following sections of the text:

1. After fol. 20: xx. part of 5-13, the W-S. Introduction, and xxi. part of 1 (in all, about 9 verses and an Intro.).
2. After fol. 26: xxv. part of 9, 10, 11, and Intro. to xxvi (2 + verses and an Intro.).
3. After fol. 45: xxxviii. 1-part of 6 (5 + verses).
4. After fol. 63: l. 10-20, li. 1-part of 6 (16 + verses).
5. After fol. 79: lxxvii. part of 28-31 (3 + verses).
6. After fol. 97: lxxix. part of 18; lxxx. 1-8 (8 + verses).
7. After fol. 113: xcvi. 2-12, xcvi. 1-part of 8 (18 + verses).
8. After fol. 132: cix. 1-part of 7 (6 + verses).
9. After fol. 175: cl. part of 3-5 (2 + verses).

Besides the losses in the text there is no doubt that some of the missing pages contained additional matter, chiefly illustrations, which furnisht the motive for their excision. The position probably held by these illustrations reveals the scheme of division that was adopted in the Paris Psalter, a matter the importance of which Wildhagen (p. 424 f.) was the first to emphasize. By comparing the amount of text on the lost folios we can estimate which ones had space left for illustrations. A count of several sections of the psalter shows that the average folio page held, recto and verso together, about 12-13 verses. In the first case listed above, the missing matter would have



filled easily both sides of the page, and it is unlikely that any illustration was present, the more so since none of the other Anglo-Saxon psalters divide at this point. This page was probably lost by accident. In cases 2, 3, 5, 6, and 8, on the other hand, there was enough text to fill only one side of the page, the other side being doubtless occupied by the dividing illustration. Cases 4 and 7 must each have involved the loss of two folio pages, as already remarkt by Bouterwek (see Wichmann, p. 41); hence naturally, as Tanger notes, no trace of the excision is left. The missing text would have filled three sides, leaving a fourth for colophon, title, etc., between the West-Saxon and Anglian Psalms after ps. 1, and an illustration after ps. xcvi. In the last case, the end of ps. cl and perhaps a colophon probably occupied the recto of the missing page, and the verso may have contained one of the canticles. In the manuscript the next folio begins with the "Canticum Ezechie," which is elsewhere always preceded by the "Canticum Esaie Prophete," or, as it is otherwise called, the "Confitebur tibi." The "Confitebur tibi," which as Wildhagen notes (p. 469, note 6) is unaccountably missing from the Paris Psalter collection of liturgical pieces, has but 6 verses; and it is therefore not unlikely that it was originally present on the verso of the lost folio.

The total loss was thus probably eleven folio pages. The points of division markt were before pss. xxvi, xxxviii, lxviii, lxxx, xcvi, and cix. Nowhere else, unless possibly before ps. li, is there any indication of division either in the Latin or the Anglo-Saxon texts.

The conclusions to be drawn from an examination of the genuine Latin of P as above restored may be briefly indicated.

1. The Latin text of which the Paris Psalter furnishes a late copy (first half of the eleventh century) belongs not late, but fairly early in the succession of Anglo-Saxon psalters based on the Roman version. As a specimen of this version in its special Anglican form, it is most nearly allied to the Royal and Bosworth Psalters of the early tenth century, but seems to be earlier than either, and has some features that connect it with the Vespasian Psalter of the early eighth century.

Thorpe's alterations of the original are in large majority (about 250 of the 300) merely substitutions of the Vulgate,

which of course usually means the Gallican reading. With these spurious Ga readings removed, the text assumes a very different appearance from that which it presented to Wildhagen. A limited number of Ga readings, however, remain to be considered. They fall into three groups:

(a) Ga readings found also in all or several of the other psalters of the Roman type (A, B, C, D, and E only are available in published form). On Wildhagen's theory these must be counted as part of the original stock of Ga readings found in the primitive Anglican text. The following cases for the first fifty psalms are collected from Wildhagen's notes to the Cambridge Psalter, after eliminating the mistakes into which he was led by Thorpe (Thorpe's verse numbers when different are added in each case in parenthesis): vii. 13(12), 16(15); ix. 36(35); x. 8; xiv. 5(6); xvii. 3(2); xxi. 18(15); xxvi. 3(4); xxvii. 9(10); xxxi. 4; xxxiv. 13, 15; xxxvi. 21(20), 23(22); xlv. 5; xlv. 9(8); xlix. 3.¹⁷

(b) Ga readings found only in the Latin of C and P. Wildhagen (p. 466, note 2) gives seventeen cases, which he considers proof of special later Ga influence on these two psalters. ("Teilweise finden sie sich zwar auch bei einem der Kirchenväter. Da aber sämtliche übrigen englischen Texte . . . an diesen Stellen geschlossen der Vorlage treubleiben, und andererseits nur der Pariser Psalter, der der neuen Fassung im lateinischen Teil die weitesten Konzessionen macht, mit dem Cambridger Texte zusammengeht, so kann hier einzig und allein Beeinflussung durch das Psalterium Gallicanum vorliegen.") As a matter of fact, only nine of these readings actually occur in P, three in the first fifty psalms: xiii. 7(11); xvii. 7(5); xlv. 6(7), and six in the rest of the psalter: lxx. 22(20); lxxxix. 13(15), 17(19); cii. 3(2); cxi. 7(6); cxxxi. 11. There is no apparent reason why these cases, like the similar coinci-

¹⁷ Cf. the partial list given by Wildhagen, p. 421, note 1. To these clear departures from Ro may be added the following, which, tho departing from the standard Ro text as given in Migne, *Pat. Lat.* xxix, are found in the *Psalterium Romanum* of Jac. Faber Stapulensis, *Quincuplex Psalterium*, Paris, 1513 (denoted by Wildhagen Ro⁴): iii. 6(4); ix. 26(24), 33(32); x. 4(3); xvii. 23(22), 33(31), 34(32), 40(37); xviii. 10(8); xx. 5(4); xxi. 3(2); xxvii. 4(5); xxxvii. 12(11); xxxix. 15(16); xlv. 9(10), 10(11), 11(12).

dences that occur between P and the earlier psalters,¹⁸ should not be treated exactly as the cases listed under (a).

(c) Ga readings found only in P. A comparison of the genuine text of P with Lindelöf's convenient parallel edition of ten psalms from eleven psalters¹⁹ shows P adhering closely to the text of the five Roman psalters collated (A-E). Of the very numerous variants from these noted by Lindelöf in the text of his six Gallican psalters (F-K), P agrees with F-K against A-E in only five instances: vii. 17(16); ix. 18(16), 19(17); lxxxix. 11(13); cxxxvi. 7(9).²⁰ So small a total of peculiar Ga readings may be paralleled in the other psalters without difficulty. Most of them no doubt are part of the original readings that have happened to be eliminated from all other surviving copies. Some of them might possibly be eliminated from P by a further scrutiny of the manuscript, especially in the second and third "fifties." The rest are probably due to the latest copyist of the manuscript (Wulfwine or his successor? cf. Bruce, p. 10 f.). That Wulfwine, altho he copied a Roman text, was familiar with the Gallican, which he probably knew by heart, is indicated by several slips that he has himself tried to correct: e. g. xvii. 24(23), cum (Ga) corrected to corum, for Ro coram; xxxii. 4, Quoniam rectum est sermo domini (Ro, rectus; scribe evidently thinking of Ga Quia rectum est uerbum domini; Thorpe changes rectum to rectus); xli. 10(9), Conguenerunt, with g partially erased (Ro, conuenerunt; Ga, con-

¹⁸ Cf. the Ga readings found in PB: xxxix. 5(4); in PE: xxxiii. 21(20); in PD: xxxvi. 14(13); in PAB: x. 8; in PDE: xlviii. 12(9); in PABDE: xxxiv. 13 and xxxv. 12(11); in PAC: lvi. 5(4); in PCE: xxxvii. 4(3) and lxxxix. 2.

¹⁹ Uno Lindelöf, *Studien zu altenglischen Psalterglossen*, Bonner Beiträge XIII, 1904.

²⁰ In the remaining psalms of the first fifty I have noted the following seventeen cases where P agrees with the Vulgate (hence presumably with Ga) against RoABCDE: v. 4(2), et om. before exaudies; vi. 7(5), singulos for -as; xi. 7, probatum before terrae; xiv. 5(6), innocentes for -em; xvi. 2, tui for mei after oculi; xvii. 16(15), terrarum for terrae; xvii. 21(20), puritatem for innocentiam; xxi. 12(9), quoniam for et before non est; xxi. 26(23), laus mea for laus mihi; xxi. 28(25), uniuersae for -si; xxxv. 13(12), omnes om.; xxxvi. 35(34), sicut for super; xlii. 5(6), adhuc before confitebor; xli. 5(4), in om. before hereditatem; xli. 10(9), populorum for populi; xlviii. 9(7), et for nec before pretium; xlix. 22(23), deum for dominum.

gregati sunt); xliii. 4(5), complacuittibi, altered from complacuiisti (apparently the scribe first wrote the Ga complacuiisti, then altered the last three letters to form the Ro complacuit tibi). Other slips into the Gallican of the same sort may well have escaped his notice. It is surprising that there are not more of them.

Indeed, the Paris Latin text preserves the features of the primitive Anglican type with remarkable fidelity, rivaling in this respect even the Vespasian Psalter. Wildhagen has listed (on p. 421) 94 test passages, departures from the regular Roman version which he believes were found in the original common source of the eight English psalters. All but nine of these (xxxix. 5(4); xliii. 23(24); xlv. 9(10); lxviii. 36(37); lxxvi. 13(10); lxxviii. 4; ciii. 32(30); cvi. 10(9); cxlii. 10(11)—are retained in P, aside from three others that happen to fall on the missing pages. Ten of them have disappeared from the Latin of the Vespasian Psalter. Twenty-eight of these peculiar readings have been eliminated in Thorpe's edition.

Another group of peculiar readings are of special significance because they establish a connection between the Latin text of P and the psalters of the tenth century. Wildhagen (p. 452) cites a group of ten readings, neither Ro nor Ga, found in the Royal, Bosworth, Eadwine's, and Cambridge Psalters, but not in the earlier Vespasian or Junius. With some reason he finds in the introduction of these the effect of the rising tide of Benedictine influence which began to be felt in the first half of the tenth century. Seven of these are found also in P: xxv. 7; xxxi. 4; xxxiii. 15(14); lxii. 7(6), 11(8); lxvii. 19; lxviii. 16(15). Wildhagen sees influence from the Benedictine liturgy also in the numerous cases of the insertion of "Domine" in DLEC; of this P has no less than nine examples: iv. 2; viii. 6; xxvii. 2; xxx. 5; ci. 14; cxviii. 4, 49, 142, 165. At the same time it must be noted that P does not go so far in this direction as the other psalters of the group: cf. the readings at xvii. 24, xxi. 9, and lvii. 2, found in DLEC, but *not* in P,—a fact that suggests that P dates from a little earlier period in the movement.

Two other features of the Paris Psalter Latin text bear out these indications of its early character. They are the appended collection of liturgical pieces, and the system of psalter division.

The liturgical matter regularly appended to the psalters²¹ affords, as Wildhagen has shown, a valuable criterion of date. Oldest and most general are the seven canticles from the Old Testament sung at matins, one for each day in the week. These alone are found in the seventh century Salaberga Psalter, the oldest surviving psalter of English origin; and they begin the collection in each of the others. The Vespasian adds the Benedictus and Magnificat, which came later into use for daily matins and vespers. The Royal and Bosworth add the Nunc Dimittis, used daily at compline, which was of course the last of the daily services to come into general use. The Royal has also the "Quicumque vult" and "Gloria in excelsis," the Bosworth the "Quicumque vult" and "Te Deum," these three hymns, according to Wildhagen, having been introduced into England first in the tenth century under Benedictine influence. Eadwine's and the Cambridge Psalter are the most comprehensive: they both have all the thirteen pieces mentioned and also the Apostle's Creed, the spread of which in England was likewise connected with Benedictinism. The Paris Psalter has ten pieces (or eleven, if we assume that the hymn "Confitebur tibi" was originally present on one of the lost leaves, as suggested above). Like the Vespasian, it has the original seven Old Testament pieces, with the Benedictus and Magnificat; like the Bosworth, it adds the "Te Deum," and like Royal and Bosworth, the "Quicumque vult"; but it has neither the compline hymn "Nunc Dimittis" nor the Apostles' Creed. It would thus seem to occupy a position after the Vespasian and before the Royal and Bosworth Psalters,—the same position which we have seen to be suggested by the textual readings.

A similar result is obtained by comparing the systems of psalter division indicated by the position of the illuminations in the manuscripts. The meaning of these facts was first revealed by Goldschmidt,²² and first applied to the English psalters by Wildhagen (p. 423 f.). Briefly outlined, the results are as follows: Four systems of division are found in the psalters that

²¹ Found in all nine of the Roman psalters except the Junius and Blickling, from which manuscripts the latter portions are missing.

²² Adolph Goldschmidt, *Der Albani-Psalter in Hildesheim und seine Beziehung zur symbolischen Kirchensculptur des XI. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1895.

we have been considering. The simplest, and perhaps the oldest, is the two-fold division before ps. cix, between the portions of the psalter used in the nocturnal and diurnal services of the breviary. Equally old in England, and always combined with the first, is the Roman system, which markt with special prominence the seven psalms used at vigils in the Roman Office for each day of the week: viz., pss. i, xxvi, xxxviii, lii, lxviii, lxxx, and xcvi; sometimes pss. xvii and cxviii were also distinctly markt for similar liturgical purposes. Third, the Irish division, so called because it seems to have originated in Ireland and spread thence wherever the influence of Irish missionary effort extended, gave prominence to the beginnings of pss. i, li, and ci, thus dividing the psalter into three equal "fifties." Finally, the Benedictine system, resting upon the highly developed Benedictine liturgy, markt no less than sixteen points in the psalter: i, xx, xxvi, xlv, lix, lxviii, lxxiii, lxxxv, xcvi, cxviii, cxix, cxxxiv, cxxxviii, cxli, cxliv, 10, cxlviii. In the south of England we find the Roman system originally prevailing, along with the division at ps. cix; and this is exemplified in the *Vespasian Psalter*. In the north, naturally, the Irish method was as old or older; and so in the two early northern psalters, *Salaberga* and *Blickling*, the Roman and Irish systems appear united. At a later period the Irish system came into general use throughout England, introduced mainly, *Wildhagen* thinks, from the Continent, where it had become entrenched by the influence of the great monasteries of Irish origin. The *Junius Psalter* has both Roman and Irish marking, as well as special prominence for ps. cxix; the latter feature being perhaps a first sign of Benedictine influence. The other four psalters of our group agree in dropping the Roman system altogether. The *Royal* and *Cambridge Psalters* have only the Irish division at pss. i, li, and ci, together with cix; *Eadwine's* divides only at ps. cix; the *Bosworth*, most elaborate of all, unites the Irish with the complete Benedictine system. Here again the *Paris Psalter* stands conspicuously close to the *Vespasian*. As we have seen above from our study of the missing pages, the places markt were at pss. i, xxvi, xxxviii, lxviii, lxxx, xcvi, and cix (ps. lii is passed over, apparently by accident); i. e., the primitive Roman points of prominence are markt, and those only. There is not a trace of the Benedictine system, nor of the Irish. The absence in the *Paris Psalter* of

the Irish tripartite division,²³ so widespread in the later psalters of the Roman group (and in nearly all of the Gallican) is especially remarkable; for we have in the accompanying West-Saxon Psalms the most conspicuous exemplification extant of this curious Irish custom. There can be little doubt that the limitation of the prose version to the first "fifty" rests originally in some way upon such a partition of the psalter.²⁴ Its absence in the Latin text is a strong indication both of the derivation of the Latin from a fairly early source, and of its entire lack of connection with the West-Saxon Psalms.

2. The Latin text of the Paris Psalter is unconnected with the West-Saxon Psalms, which must have been translated from an altogether different original. Whereas the Latin text, as we have seen, supplies an early and primitive type of the Roman version as it was carried to England, the West-Saxon Psalms are clearly based on a very late type of this text, with many Gallican readings found in none of the other Roman psalters.

A large proportion of Thorpe's changes were evidently made to obtain greater agreement between the adjoining Latin and Anglo-Saxon, especially when, as is very frequently the case, the West-Saxon Psalms follow a Gallican reading not to be found in the Latin. As a result of Thorpe's efforts the two texts in his edition do show a general agreement, tho even there far from a complete one. Wildhagen was led by this factitious correspondence to believe (p. 469) that they came from the same source, and that the differences were due to scribal changes in the Latin. That the truth is precisely opposite will appear from the following list of cases where Thorpe has turned an authentic disagreement into an induced agreement of the two texts. (P = the genuine Latin text; Th = Thorpe's Latin; W-S = version of the West-Saxon Psalms.) There are four groups:

- a. Where P = Ro, and Th = Ga (or Vulgate) = W-S.
- b. Where P differs from Ro but = ABCDE (i. e. has one of

²³ The absence of any marking before ps. ci is decisive of this. There was some sort of separation between pss. l and li, but this was manifestly due to the necessity here of marking the end of the West-Saxon and the beginning of the Anglian Psalms.

²⁴ More fully discussed by the writer in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 1912, p. 486 f.

the peculiar Anglican readings); and Th = Ga (sometimes also = Ro) = W-S.

- c. Where P differs from both Ro and ABCDE (i.e. has a peculiar or manifestly mistaken reading; and Th = GaRoABCDE = W-S.
- d. Where P = RoGaABCDE, and Th = W-S (i.e., Thorpe has deliberately, tho not always successfully, introduced a peculiar reading of his own to get closer agreement with the Anglo-Saxon).

A few of the more striking examples under each head will be given in full (verse numbering Thorpe's):

a.

- vii. 6, in finibus inimicorum tuorum: on minra feonda mearce (ThGa, meorum).
- vii. 9, secundum innocentiam manuum mearum super me: æfter minre unsceðfulnesse (ThGa om. super me; Ga, secundum innocentiam meam).
- xii. 1, quousque auertis: hu lange wilt þu ahwyrfan (ThGa, usquequo avertes).
- xxii. 3, super semitam: ofer þa wegas (ThGa, semitas).
- xxviii. 6, solitudinem . . . desertum: þa westan eorðan . . . þa westen stowe (ThGa, desertum . . . desertum).
- xxxii. 16, sperantes autem in misericordia eius: and ofer þa þe hopiað to his mildheortnesse (ThGa, et in eis qui sperant super misericordia ejus).
- xxxiv. 15, ignorauerunt: ic nyste (ThGa, ignoravi).
- xxvii. 9, Et: Drihten (ThGa, Domine).
- xxviii. 9, substantia mea tanquam nichil ante te est: mid þe is eall min æht (Th, apud for ante; Ga, substantia mea apud te est).
- xl. 6, Et: þeah (ThGa, Et si, taken by translator as Etsi).
- xli. 2, ad Deum uiuum: to Gode for þam he is se libbenda wylle (ThGa, ad Deum fontem vivum).
- xliv. 10, a gradibus eburneis: of þinum elpanbænenum husum (ThGa, domibus).
- lxviii. 6, in habundantiarum suarum (sic): þære mycelnesse hiora speda (Th, multitudine abundantiarum suarum; Ro, in abundantia diuitiarum suarum; Ga, in multitudine divi-

tiarum suarum. P is evidently intended for the Ro reading, whereas W-S translates Ga).

- xlix. 22, existimasti iniquitatem: þu ræswedest swiðe unryhte (ThGa, inique). Other examples may be found at ii. 6, 10; vi. 3; xv. 8; xxvi. 13; xxvii. 7; xxxiv. 19, 23; xxxvi. 24; xl. 8.

b.

- xiii. 10, confudisti (ABCDEP): gedrefe ge (ThGaRo, confudisti).

- xxix. 11, ut cantem tibi gloria mea (CDEP): þæt min wuldor and min gylp þe herige (ThGaRoAB, ut cantet).

- xxxvii. 6, turbatus (ABCDEP): gebiged (ThGaRo, curvatus).

- xlvi. 7, Frater non redemit, redemit homo (ABCDEP): þæt nan broðor opres sawle nele alysan . . . gylde for þy him sylf, and alyse his sawle (ThGaRo, redimit redimet; apparently the W-S translates the reading redimet redimet of Ro¹; see Wildhagen's note to this passage in his ed. of the Cambridge Psalter).

- Other examples may be found at ii. 13; vii. 16; xvii. 8; xxxi. 7; xxxiv. 10; xxxvi. 24; xxxvii. 16; xl. 1; xlix. 5.

c.

- viii. 3, ut destruam: for ðam þu towyrpest (ThGaRoABCDE, ut destruas).

- xxvi. 3, innocentes (sic): mine fynd (ThGaRoABCDE, nocentes).

- xxxiv. 8, exprobrauerunt animam meam: idle hi wæron þa hi me tældon (ThGa, supervacue exprobaerunt animam meam; RoABCDE, uane for superuacue).

- xlvi. 2, Dominus summus terribilis super omnes deos: swyðe heah God and swyðe andrysnlic and swiðe micel Cynincg ofer ealle oðre godas (Th adds, Rex magnus super omnem terram; Ga, Dominus excelsus terribilis rex magnus super omnem terram; RoABCDE, Deus summus terribilis et rex magnus super omnes deos).

- Other examples: ix. 23, 30; xiv. 1; xxx. 8; xxxv. 12; xxxix. 12; xxxix. 12; xliii. 3, 25; xlvii. 8.

d

- xxiii. 5, a Domino . . . a Deo (so RoGaABCDE): fram Gode . . . æt Drihtne (Th, a Deo . . . a Domino).
- xxiii. 7, 9, eleuamini, porte eternelles . . . eleuamini, porte eternelles (so RoGaABCDE): onhlidaþ þa ecan geata . . . onhlidað eow, ge ecan geatu (Th, elevamini postes æternelles . . . elevamini, portæ æternelles. Thorpe's change here was a happy inspiration, for it would explain the curious difference in the W-S rendering of the two verses; but I have found no source for his reading).
- xxiv. 6-8, cf. Thorpe's deliberate change of verse division.
- xxxviii. 8, Thesaurizat et ignorat cui congregat ea (so ABCDE; Ro, congreget; Ga, congregabit): hy gaderiað feoh and nyton hwam hy hyt gadriað (Th, Congregat et ignorat cui congregabit ea).
- xlvi. 7, et laborauit in eternum (so RoAB; GaCDE, et laborabit): hu he on ecnesse swincan mæge (Th, nec laborabit in æternum; the passage is difficult, but Thorpe's change is unnecessary; W-S probably followed Ga). See also xxxvii. 13 and xlviii. 15.

It would, however, be wrong to leave the impression that Thorpe's changes are always made for the sake of getting a closer agreement with the Anglo-Saxon version. Frequently he alters merely to correct or smooth the Latin, or for no apparent reason, except to bring the text of P nearer to the Vulgate. Indeed, where the West-Saxon Psalms are translated from a Roman or a peculiar Anglican reading, Thorpe's alterations often destroy an agreement that was originally present. Some of the clearest and most interesting of these cases may be cited:

vi. 8, auertantur retrorsum: and gan hy on earsling (ThGa, avertantur).

- viii. 7, oues et boues, uniuersa insuper et pecora campi (so also ABCDE): sceap and hryðera and ealle eorðan nytenu (ThGa-Ro, oues et boves universas, insuper et pecora campi).
- xvi. 12, framea inimicorum de manu tua (so B; RoACDE, frameam): of þære wræce minra feonda alys me mid þinre handa (ThGa, frameam tuam ab inimicis manus tuæ).



- xvii. 12, *Prae fulgora* (for *prae fulgora*, nom. plur. of adj. *prae fulgorus*; so D; C, *Prefulgorae* or *-ra*; E, *Prefulgorae*; ABROGa, *Prae fulgore*) in *conspectu eius nubes transierunt*: and *þa urnan swa ligetu beforan his ansyne* (Th, *Prae fulgore*; cf. Wildhagen's note to passage in Cambridge Psalter).
- xvii. 33, *posuit*: he gedyde (ThGa, *posuisti*).
- xxvii. 1, *ne sileas a me*: *ne swuga* (ThGa, *ne sileas a me nequando taceas a me*).
- xxvii. 5, Th adds, *secundum opera manuum eorum tribue illis*, with Ga; om. in P and W-S.
- xxx. 4, *firmamentum meum et refugium meum*: *min trymnes* and *min gebeorh* (Th, *fortitudo mea et firmamentum meum*; Ga, *fortitudo mea et refugium meum*).
- xxxvii. 15, *Tu exaudies, Domine* (so ABCDE): *Gehyr ðis, Drihten* (ThGaRo, *Tu exaudies me, Domine*).
- xxxviii. 7, *Quamquam imaginem Dei ambulet homo* (sic; in erased after *Quamquam*; ABCDE, in *imagine*): *And swa þeah ælc man hæfð Godes anlicnesse on him* (Th, *Quamquam in imagine ambulet homo*; Ro, *Quamquam in imagine Dei ambulat homo*; Ga, *Verumtamen in imagine pertransit homo*).
- xlix. 18, *post te*: *under bæc fram þe* (Th, *postea*; Ga, *retrorsum*; did the W-S translator read *retrorsum post te*?).
- Other examples: vii. 5, 7, 10, 14; viii. 4; ix. 12; xi. 2; xii. 5; xiii. 10; xvii. 3, 23; xix. 6; xx. 4; xxv. 9; xxvi. 14; xxviii. 7, 9; xxxii. 17; xxxiv. 24; xxxvi. 36; xli. 12; xlv. 16; xlvii. 12; xlviii. 4; xlix. 8, 16. Note also the changes in verse division which Thorpe has made at xvi. 7-8; xxi. 1-2; xxxix. 9-10; xl. 7-8; xlv. 4-5.

The 56 discrepancies given above by no means exhaust the list. They include merely those affected by Thorpe's changes of the Latin text. A complete list, which would include from among the nineteen cases cited by Wichmann ten (viz., vii. 9, xvi. 15, xxvii. 2, xxx. 24, xxxi. 6, xxxix. 6, xli. 9, xxxviii. 9, xl. 2, xlv. 5) that are not vitiated by the recovery of the correct text, would be long and would necessitate another paper. The instances here collected are enough to show the utter divergence of the two texts, and to indicate the strong Gallican tincture (about 30 of

the W-S readings cited are distinctively Gallican where P is not Gallican) of the West-Saxon Psalms. Thus we get the curious result that, altho Wildhagen's conclusions with regard to the date and character of the Paris Psalter Latin are inadmissible, conclusions very similar seem required for the accompanying West-Saxon Psalms.

3. The Paris Psalter Latin is also unconnected with the Anglian Psalms. These, however, are translated from a very similar type of text, which had comparatively few Gallican readings, and was distinctly earlier in character than the original of the West-Saxon Psalms.

As we have seen above, Bruce has already demonstrated that the Anglian Psalms could not have been based on the accompanying Latin, altho in three of the cases cited by him Tanger's restored text happens to agree with the Anglo-Saxon version. Much more often, however, Tanger's restorations reveal additional divergencies which Thorpe's perversions had concealed. Accordingly the following discrepancies may be added to Bruce's list (Ang = Anglian Psalms):

- liv. 13, Th adds the Ga, in domo Dei (om. by P): on Godes huse (RoABCDE, in domo Domini).
- lv. 9, Th adds tota die (om. by PRoGaABCDE): ealne dæg.
- lix. 4, electi tui (so RoABCDE): leofe þine (ThGa, dilecti tui).
- lxi. 7, In Deo salutari meo (so ABC): On Gode standeð min gearu hælu (ThGaRoDE, In Deo salutare meum).
- lxxii. 19, Tenuisti manum dexteram meam in uoluntate tua: þu mine swyþran hand sylfa gename, and me mid þinon willan well gelædest (ThGaRoABCDE, Tenuisti manum dexteram meam, et in uoluntate tua deduxisti me).
- lxxvii. 9, Et: þæt (ThGaRoABCDE, Ut).
- xcv. 9, in nationibus (so RoABCDE): on cynnum and on cneorissum (ThGa, in gentibus).
- ciii. 18, in tempore (so ABCDE): on þa mæran tid (ThGaRo, in tempora).
- cxviii. 147, in uerbum tuum (so CDE): on ðinum wordum (ThGa, in uerba tua; RoAB, in uerbo tuo).
- cxxxi. 13, super sedem meam (so RoABCDE): on þinum setle (ThGa, super sedem tuam; cf. gloss to E, ofer setl þin).

xxxvi. 1, dum recordaremur tui, Sion (so RoABCDE): þonne
we Sion gemunan swiðe georne (ThGa, dum recordaremur
Sion).

cxlvii. 7, flauit (so ACDE): blaweð (ThGaRo, flabit).

Bruce's valid examples of divergence are nine in number, in all of which the Anglian Psalms follow the regular Roman reading, while the Latin either has a reading peculiar to itself (ci. 25, cvi. 38), one shared by one or more of the group ABCDE (lxv. 3, lxxvi. 2, lxxvii. 62, cviii. 28, cxiv. 4), or a Gallican reading (xxxviii. 17, cxl. 3). Besides these Bruce mentions (p. 126) five other discrepancies in which the Anglian Psalms follow an Old Latin reading (lxxvi. 11, xc. 2, xci. 10, cxviii. 165, cxix. 4), and two (ciii. 14, cxviii. 151) in which they follow the Gallican; in all seven of these the Latin text has the regular Roman reading. Finally, four other cases remain to be cited:

lxii. 4, leuabo manus meas (so ThGaRoABCDE): ic . . . mine
handa þwea (probably merely the translator's mistake for
lauabo; cf. Grein's note).

ciii. 30, Qui respicit terram (so ThGaRo): He on ðas eorðan
ealle locað (ABCDE, Qui respicit in terram).

xxxix. 11, eam (so ThGaC): hine (RoABDE, eum).

xxxix. 12, super sedem meam (so ThRoABCDE): ofer þin
heahsetl (Ga. super sedem tuam).

Thus in all there are 32 cases of divergence between the two texts,—a number ample to show their independence, but small compared to the total that may be gathered from the first fifty psalms. In only nine of these cases do the Anglian Psalms follow Gallican readings not found in the Latin, a number which again is negligible compared with the constant dependence upon the Gallican version on the part of the translator of the West-Saxon Psalms. The facts suggest, tho alone they would of course in no way demonstrate, a date for the original of Ang later than P, but distinctly earlier than the original of W-S.²⁵

²⁵The order indicated is borne out by a consideration of the very different exegetical sources used in the two Anglo-Saxon versions, an aspect which will be treated fully in the forthcoming edition of the West-Saxon Psalms.

The compiler of the Paris Psalter has thus united in his very composite manuscript three texts which certainly had no previous connection whatever. One of his sources, clearly the oldest, was a copy of the Roman version of the entire psalter having numerous primitive Anglican textual features, a very early system of psalter division, and a fairly early collection of liturgical addenda. This Latin original can hardly have been later than the beginning of the tenth century, and may have gone back to the ninth. His second source was an Anglo-Saxon metrical translation of the entire psalter, made fairly late, as the character of the meter shows, but from an early and distinctively Anglican type of the Roman version. Thirdly, he had before him a recent translation of the first "fifty" in the late West-Saxon prose, based upon a Latin original which adhered to the Roman text in the main, but which liberally admitted Gallican readings to a considerably greater extent than any other English copy or version of the Roman psalter preserved to us. There is no evidence that this prose translation ever extended beyond its present limit. Apparently it was regarded by the compiler as his greatest treasure, for in its favor he discarded the first third of his metrical translation, parts of which were destined to survive in a copy of the Benedictine Officium. A fourth volume in his scriptorium furnished him with his last ingredient,—a set of brief rubrics in Latin for the entire psalter. This "Collectio Argumentorum," made use of in several of the later Anglo-Saxon psalters, reveals a dependence upon much the same sources as the West-Saxon Psalms,²⁶ and may indeed have been a sort of preliminary study of their translator's; but if so, these two are the only elements of the whole compilation with any inherent connection. To the student of the West-Saxon and Anglian Psalms, accordingly, their accidental companion the Latin text of the Paris Psalter has no further interest than attaches to any copy of the Roman version bequeathed to us from the Anglo-Saxon Church.

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²⁶ See Bruce, pp. 17-24; and "Theodore of Mopsuestia in England and Ireland," *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 1912, pp. 488-497.

V.—THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

In the first act of Goethe's drama, Faust tries to translate the beginning of the metaphysical prologue to the Fourth Gospel: he is dissatisfied with the traditional rendering *In the beginning was the Word* and prefers the translation *Im Anfang war der Sinn*; but then he thinks it ought to be *Im Anfang war die Kraft*, and finally he writes *Im Anfang war die Tat*. Goethe's *Sinn* means *Mind* (νοῦς) or *Reason* (λόγος): German *unsinnig* is synonymous with *unvernünftig*, just as our *sensible* may mean *reasonable*, and *senseless*: contrary to reason. *Mind* may be used for German *Sinn*; the German phrase for *to change one's mind* is *seinen Sinn ändern* or *anderen Sinnes werden*. Our *to have in mind* is in German: *im Sinne haben*. Greek λόγος denotes both *word* and *reason*; logic is the science of reasoning. Thomas Hobbes (1651) says in his *Leviathan* (1, 4): The Greeks have but one word, λόγος, for both *speech* and *reason* (cf. Frauenstädt's *Schopenhauer-Lexikon* 2, 338). In Syriac, *mēkilā* means *endowed with speech and reason*; Syr. *millētā* denotes *the faculty of speech or thought*, reason, energy of mind. Saadia's Arabic version of the Pentateuch (EB¹¹ 24, 532b)¹ has for *and man became a living soul* (Gen. 2, 7): Adam became *nafs nāfiq* — ζῶον λογικόν. Arab. *nāfiq* means *endowed with the faculty of speech and reason*; the noun *nufq* denotes both *speech*, articulated human language, and *reason*, intellect. Goethe's *Kraft* signifies *Force*, i. e. what modern physicists call *energy*. Helmholtz's epoch-making paper on the conservation of energy (1847) was entitled *Über die Erhaltung der Kraft*. The title of Büchner's work on force and matter (1855) is *Kraft und Stoff*. Goethe's *Tat* means *action*, i. e. energy manifested in outward acts, motions and changes; exertion of power or force. In *Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre* (vol. 10, p. 108 of the edition of the Bibliograph. Institut) we read: *Das erste und letzte am Menschen ist die Tätigkeit* (cf. p. 820 of H. S. Chamberlain's *Die Grundlagen des Neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*). The

¹ For the abbreviations see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 38, p. 142.

German term *Tatkraft* for *energy*, which was coined in the eighteenth century, is a compound of *Tat* and *Kraft*. Energy is actual exertion of power.

The various renderings of λόγος in Goethe's *Faust* are alluded to in a letter of Moltke, written in November 1883, to the historian Ludwig Hahn. The great strategist says there: For many years people have talked of German unity, have glorified it in verse and song; they held meetings, rifle-corps festivals, and passed resolutions. As long as they translated the *Logos* as the *word*, nothing came of it. Only when some one thought of *Force*, when the emperor in conjunction with Roon created the army, and when Bismarck made *Action* inevitable, there was creation. But now again the Word predominates.

While λόγος at the beginning of the Johannine Gospel (c. 135 A. D.) may mean both *Word* and *Reason*, it cannot denote *Force* or *Action*. These terms are not given as translations of λόγος in ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, but indicate what, according to Faust, the author of the Fourth Gospel should have written (note 1. 1233: *Es sollte stehn*). The rendering *Sinn* = *Reason* and the substitutes *Kraft* = *Force* and *Tat* = *Action*, it may be supposed, go back to Herder. Professor Günther Jacoby, of Greifswald, published a book in 1911, entitled *Herder als Faust*, in which he tried to show that many of Herder's remarks and ideas were utilized in Goethe's *Faust*, and that Faust's experience reflects Herder. This latter statement is true to a certain extent, at any rate so far as the first part of Goethe's *Faust* is concerned, and I am convinced that many of Faust's philosophical and religious ideas were inspired by Herder; cf. Max Morris' review of Jacoby's book in *Euphorion*, vol. 20, parts 1 and 2, p. 217 (Leipsic, 1913) and Eugen Kühnemann's *Herder* (Munich, 1912), p. 235; also BL xxii. xxxiv. xxxvi. Even the great Biblical critic W. M. L. de Wette was much influenced by Herder (RE^s 21, 190, l. 27; see also 5, 677, l. 7).

The English translations (there are nearly forty) of the lines (1224-1237) in Goethe's *Faust*, referring to the beginning of the Fourth Gospel, are unsatisfactory. A. Hayward (London, 1864) and Anna Swanwick (New York, 1884) render: *In the beginning was the Sense, the Power, the Deed*. Now *sense* may mean *mind*, understanding; Iago says to Othello (3, 3, 374): *Are you a man? have you a soul or sense?* (Schlegel-Tieck:

Vernunft und Sinn). The term *power* may signify *energy*, and *deed* may denote *power of action*; Milton (*Parad. Lost* 5, 549) says: *Both will and deed created free*. But *the sense, the power, the deed* cannot be understood without a commentary. J. Birch (London, 1839) and Frank Claudy (Washington, 1886) substitute *the Mind for the Sense*, which is an improvement, although the article is objectionable. Spinoza speaks of *Deus sive natura*, but there may be a designing mind behind nature. Charles T. Brooks (Boston, 1866) has *the thought, the power, the deed*; but *thought* is less acceptable than *mind*, although it may satisfy the metaphysical idealists (EB¹¹ 1, 75^b) and it might be interpreted as Universal Thought. John Anster (London, 1835) and Bayard Taylor (Boston, 1871) as well as Thos. E. Webb (Dublin, 1880) render: *the Thought, the Power, the Act*. The last term is better than *deed*, but *Action* is preferable. The French translations of Henri Blase (Paris, 1840) and A. de Riedmatten (Paris, 1881) have *l'esprit, la force, l'action* and *l'Intelligence, la Force, l'Action*. The term *Force* is better than *power*. Sir Theodore Martin (London, 1862) gives: *the Sense, the Force, the Deed*. John Stewart Blackie (London, 1880) has *Thought, Force, and the Deed*. The omission of the article before *Thought* and *Force* is a distinct improvement, but we must follow the French translations in substituting *Action* for *deed*, and instead of *thought* we ought to use *Reason*. According to the Stoics, *Reason* (λόγος) was the active principle (ἡγεμονικόν) in the formation of the Universe.² There is a *reason* (λόγος) for everything in nature. We find Stoic phraseology not only in the NT, but also in the OT (*Eccl.* 2). Stoicism's most valuable lessons to the world were preserved in Christianity, and its monism was revived by Spinoza (EB¹¹ 25, 943^b. 951^a).

² Cf. EB¹¹ 25, 942^b; 13, 310^a; 24, 375^b; E. Zeller, *Grundriss der Geschichte der griechischen Philosophie* (1905), p. 213 (§ 69) and p. 288 (§ 94). See also GJV⁴ 3, 709. The λόγος is not the creative word of God (RE⁸ 11, 602, l. 37). For the *word of God* in cuneiform literature cf. KAT⁸ 608, l. 26; Zimmern, *Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete, zweite Auswahl* (Leipsic, 1911), p. 21; also RE⁸ 11, 601, l. 18; Delitzsch, *Die grosse Täuschung* (Stuttgart, 1920) p. 75, l. 11, and *The Presentation of Christianity to Moslems* (published by the Board of Missionary Preparation, New York) pp. 39. 57. 81. 99.

In Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans* the dying English general says after the two lines *Unsinn, du siegst, und ich muss untergehn!* | *Mit der Dummheit kämpfen Götter selbst vergebens* (ll. 2320-2322): *Erhabene Vernunft, lichte Tochter | des göttlichen Hauptes, weise Gründerin | des Weltgebäudes, Führerin der Sterne*. According to Bismarck, *mit* in the line *Mit der Dummheit kämpfen Götter selbst vergebens* should be taken to mean *allied to*, not *against*, but this interpretation is, of course, untenable.

Ebeling (MDOG, No. 58, p. 23, n. *) regards *Mummu* in the first fragment of the cuneiform Creation tablets (KAT³ 492, n. 2; cf. AJP 39, 307; OLZ 12, 291) as a personification of Reason (*Logos*). He may combine Assy. *mummu* with Syr. *hāmā*, reason (*mēhauwān*, rational; Heb. *hōn*, wealth, is identical with *ōn*) or with Assy. *amû*, to speak = Heb. *hamā*; cf. Arab. *nāfiq*, Syr. *mēlilā*; also Arab. *ḡāhama* (JBL 34, 79; 26, 44; ZDMG 61, 295, l. 14; EB 938, n. 4; Mic. 101, b; ZA 17, 356; OLZ 17, 6. 421). See also MVAG 21, 215, l. 2.

The Fourth Gospel (1, 1) identifies Reason (ὁ λόγος) with God (καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος). *All things were made by it* (πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο) and *no man has seen God at any time* (θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε): 1, 3. 18; cf. 5, 37 and ZDMG 63, 513, l. 12. The reason why the rendering *Reason* has not been adopted by the theologians (cf. RE³ 11, 600, l. 6) is that Faith and Reason are supposed to be incompatible. The creator of Latin Christian literature is said to have formulated the principle *Credo quia absurdum*.³ Rationalist is not a complimentary term, and the *sacrificium intellectus* is regarded as a most acceptable offering. Even Luther denounced Reason as a *cunning fool* and a *pretty harlot* (EB¹² 23, 22^a. 21^b). Positive religion is something more than the intellectual apprehension of the reason in the universe (EB¹² 19, 347^b) and the peace of God gives more comfort and strength than any human thinking (VB *ad Phil.* 4, 7). *Pax Dei, quae corda nostra et intelligentias nostras custodit, exsuperat omnem sensum*.

PAUL HAUPT.

³ Tertullian (*De carne Christi* 5) says: *prorsus credibile quia ineptum est*.

VI.—VOCALIC HARMONY IN FOX.¹

On a former occasion (*Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* 4: 403; 1914) I showed that the Fox *e* and *i* vowels as a whole are more primitive than Ojibwa *i*; I now wish to show that at times the Fox *e* vowel has developed from an *i* vowel by vocalic harmony.

Case 1.

i becomes *e* if the preceding syllable of a different morphological unit contains *e*. This does not apply to terminal *i*.

Examples: *i'pa'owag^{ki}* "they ran that way," *ne'te'pa'u* "I ran that way"; *ä'inädteⁱ* "then he said to him, her," *keten^{ae}* "I said to you," *netenā^{wa}* "I said to him, her"; *i'ci'tä'ä^{wa}* "he, she thinks," *nete'citä^{ee}* "I think," *kete'citä^{ee}* "you (sing.) think"; *inä'nemin^{nu}* "think (sing.) of me," *ketenäneme-gunän^{na}* "he, she thinks of us (incl.)," *netenäne'mäpen^{na}* "we think of you (sing. or pl.);" *i'cawi's^a* "he might do," *kete'ca^{wi}* "what are you (sing.) doing?" Very likely *nete'kwäm^{na}* "my sister" (said by male only) is to be explained in the same manner: *i'kwä^{wa}* "woman"; for the loss of *w* before the possessive suffix *m*, see *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 1: 50 (1917).

It is evident that the same phonetic shift takes place in Kickapoo: see Jones, *Kickapoo Tales*, 18.16, 18.20, 30.10, 44.14, 106.14. Hence it is to be presumed that the shift also takes place in Sauk, though I have not actual material to prove this. It will be recalled that these three Algonquian dialects are ex-

¹ Printed with permission of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. The Fox examples are almost entirely taken from texts dictated by Edward Davenport; some are words obtained from him by direct interrogation; references by page and line are to Jones' *Fox Texts*. It may be presumed that Sauk and Kickapoo also share all the shifts noted here, though there is not evidence at hand to prove this. It may be added that there are apparently some other laws of vocalic harmony in Fox, but I have not yet definitely succeeded in formulating them. None of these shifts occur when the altering vowel is within the same morphological unit as the *i* normally affected.

tremely closely related. It should be mentioned that although *e* and *i* are extremely difficult to keep apart in many American Indian languages, and often are merely auditory, not real, variants, in Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo there is not the slightest trouble in distinguishing them.

Case 2.

i becomes *e* if the following syllable of a different morphological unit contains *ä*.

Examples: *tetepi* "circle," *ähanemitetepetcäsänitci* "as he whirled over and over in his course," J. 288.15; *tcigike'tcigamiwec* "at the edge of the great sea" [see J. 350.5], *tcigepyaḡci* "at the edge of the water"; *ämaiyagigenigⁱ* "it had a queer shape," J. 152.8, *ämaiyagetcänätci* "the touch of her body was strange," J. 326.5; *kī'ci-* [J. *kīci-*] "completion," *inä'katawikicetäḡⁱ* "it is almost cooked," J. 372.1; *tcägi* "all," *kätawitcägetäḡⁱ* "when they (inanimate) were nearly burned up"; **päḡigumä'cinw^a* "he bumped his nose," *päḡetcäcinw^a* "he ran and fell flat on his belly." [The last two examples are taken from Jones' grammatical sketch of Fox.] There are evidently some rules cancelling the shift but they are at present unknown: observe *wī'cegänetaman^{ne}* "if you keep it firmly in mind" as contrasted with *wī'cigigäpāw^a* "he stands firmly," but *mī'ci-gwäw^a* "he has a fuzzy face," *pītigäw^a* "he enters," *kī'cipyāw^a* "he has come." It is clear that the same shift occurs in Kickapoo: see Jones, *Kickapoo Tales*, 114. 11, 12, 13. Hence it may be presumed that it also takes place in Sauk though I have not actual evidence to prove this. It seems that the rules cancelling the shift are alike in both Fox and Kickapoo; note Kickapoo *ä'kiskigwäwätci* "he cut off her neck," Jones, l. c., 36. 6 and *pītigänu* "come in," *ibidem* 64. 12.

Case 3.

i becomes *e* if the following syllable of a different morphological unit contains *u*. A medial *g* cancels the shift.

Examples: *wī'cigigäpāw^a* "he stands firmly," *ä'wī'cigetunämu^{dtci}* "he spoke strongly"; *upyä'nⁿⁱ* "slowly," *upyänetunämōw^a* "he speaks slowly." The contrast between *päḡigumä-*

*From Jones' Fox Texts; reference misplaced.

cinw^a "he bumped his nose" and pägetcäcinw^a "he ran and fell flat on his belly" shows that medial *g* cancels the shift. These two examples are taken from Jones.

Case 4.

i becomes *e* if the preceding syllable of a different morphological unit contains *u*.

Examples: i'citä"ägan^{ni'} "thought," ute'citä"ägan^{ni'} "his, her thought"; i'kwäw^{a'} "woman," ute'kwäman^{ni'} "his sister."
[For the last two see case 1.]

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BOOK REVIEWS

Essai sur Persius, par FRANÇOIS VILLENEUVE. Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1918. 540 pp.

The first part of this portly volume deals with the education of Persius, his teachers, his friends, and the social circle in which he moved. This includes a long chapter (56 pp.) on Cornutus and his works. The second part discusses the purpose of his Satires and all their possible models, especially the moral preachings of the Stoics and Cynics. The third and fourth parts are a detailed study of the subjects of the Satires, the development of the thought, and the style. The conclusion of the whole matter is that the poems of Persius are "un essai de transformation de la diatribe en satire horatienne par un stoïcien qui a subi l'action de la rhétorique."

Of the various elements involved in this verdict, the one which is brought out most clearly is, naturally enough, the influence of Horace. This is discussed in detail; and the author not only sets forth the verbal coincidences and similar trains of thought, but examines the causes and significance of this dependence, and studies "the modifications of the language and the thought as they passed through the alembic of Persius's brain." The whole book is well written, and interesting throughout.

Professor VILLENEUVE shows a wide acquaintance with what is politely called the 'literature' of his subject, although he might have paid a little more attention to work done outside of France and Germany. To mention only one or two names, he might have found something of value in the American edition of the Satires by B. L. Gildersleeve (New York: Harper, 1875) or in the Notes on Persius by A. E. Housman in the *Classical Quarterly*, Jan. 1913—an article which made a most profound impression on the editor of Persius for the Loeb Classical Library. For example, Gildersleeve's commentary would have furnished two interesting verbal parallels: cp. 3, 3, *indomitum . . . despumare Falernum*, with Lucan, 10, 162, *indomitum Meroe cogens spumare Falernum*; and 2, 1, *diem numera meliore lapillo*, with Martial, 9, 52, 4, *felix utraque lux diesque nobis signandi melioribus lapillis*.

I have made a few marginal notes on the chapters on Persius' language and style.

P. 211 (on 1, 102, *reparabilis . . . echo*). For the 'touch of boldness' of an adjective in -bilis with active meaning, cp. Verg. *Geor.* 1, 93, *penetrabile frigus*; Aen. 10, 481, *penetrabile telum*; Lucr. 1, 11, *genitabilis aura Favoni*.

P. 398 (on 1, 42, *faxit oletum*). The expression is quoted from Veranius: *Sacerdotula in sacrario Martiali fecit oletum*. See Festus, Paul. p. 221 (Lindsay).

P. 407 (on 2, 28, *idcirco*). This 'prosaic' word occurs three times in Vergil: *Geor.* 1, 231; 3, 445; *Aen.* 5, 680.

P. 417 (on 2, 31, *metuens divum*). Cp. *Lucr.* 3, 982, *divom metus . . . inanis*; *Livy*, 22, 3, 4, *deorum . . . metuens*.

P. 418 (on 3, 7, *ocius adsit huc aliquis*). Cp. *Verg. Ecl.* 7, 8, *ocius, inquit, huc ades*.

P. 419 (on 3, 3, *quod despumare . . . sufficiat*). For *sufficere* with the infinitive, cp. *Verg. Aen.* 5, 22, *nec tendere tantum sufficimus*; *Calpurn. Ecl.* 7, 35, *quod vix suffecimus ipsi per partes spectare suas*.

P. 421 (on 3, 10, *positis . . . capillis*). Cp. *Calpurn. Ecl.* 5, 72, *cum vacuas posito velamine costas denudabit ovis*; *Martial*, 7, 29, 3, *sic etiam positis formosus amere capillis*.

P. 434 (on 3, 86, *his populus ridet*). 'His' is probably an ablative. Cp. *Hor. Sat.* 2, 8, 83, *ridetur fictis rerum*.

P. 442 (on 4, 7, *fecisse silentia*). Cp. *Calpurn. Ecl.* 2, 17, *altaque per totos fecere silentia montes*; *Ovid, M.* 9, 692, *quique premit vocem digitoque silentia suadet*.

P. 468 (on 5, 60, *transisse dies*). Cp. *Tibullus*, 1, 4, 27, *transiet aetas*; *Pliny, N. H.* 18, 267, *transisse solstitium caveto putes*; *Martial*, 2, 64, 3, *transit et Nestoris aetas*; 5, 84, 6, *Saturnalia transiere tota*.

P. 474 (on 5, 95, *caloni . . . alto*). The use of *altus* of a tall man is apparently not confined to Epic. The *Thesaurus* cites *Columella*, 1, 9, 3, *non sic altos quemadmodum latos et lacertosos viros*.

P. 492 (on 6, 31, *costa ratis*). For the metaphor, cp. *Ovid, Ep.* 15, 112, *textitur et costis panda carina suis*. It is interesting to notice that Professor Arthur Palmer assigned this epistle (Paris to Helen) to "about the epoch of Persius or Petronius."

On p. 149, l. 17, the reference to Horace should read, "the eighth satire of the first book," not the "third."

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C. Suetonii Tranquilli De Vita Caesarum Liber VIII: Divus Titus. An edition with parallel passages and notes. By HELEN PRICE. Banta Publishing Co., Menasha, Wis., 1919. 85 pp.

This is a thesis recently presented at the University of Pennsylvania for the degree of Ph.D. The 'parallel passages' illustrate or confirm the various statements of Suetonius; they are

drawn from Pliny, Tacitus, Plutarch, Dio, Josephus, Philostratus, and the rest. The notes are carefully written, and show a certain independence of judgment. One obscure passage still remains obscure. At 8, 4 the text is given as "Urbis incendio nihil publice nisi perisse testatus," and the translation adopted is "During the fire at Rome he made no remark except, 'I am ruined.'" This seems to take very little account of the word 'publice.' By a pleasant coincidence a similar study of Suetonius' Life of Domitian was presented in the same year as a doctor's thesis at the University of Amsterdam. The author is JAN JANSSEN; the publisher, J. B. Wolters, Groningen.

W. P. MUSTARD.

Corpus scriptorum latinorum Paravianum. Moderante Carolo Pascal, *In aedibus Io. Bapt. Paraviae et Soc.*, Aug. Taurinorum.

Q. VALERII CATULLI CARMINA. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendicem criticam addidit CAROLUS PASCAL. 2.25 lire.

CORNELII TACITI DE VITA AGRICOLAE LIBER. Recensuit, praefatus est, appendice critica instruxit C. ANNIBALDI. Accedunt de Cornelio Tacito testimonia vetera a CAROLO PASCAL conlecta. 1.25 lire.

[P. VERGILII MARONIS] CATALEPTON (PRIAPEA ET EPIGRAMMATA), MAECENAS, PRIAPEUM "QUID HOC NOVI EST." Recensuit, praefatus est, appendicem criticam et indicem verborum addidit REM. SABBADINI. 4 lire.

During the war the distinguished house of Paravia entered upon an extensive plan of issuing a new edition of the Latin Classics to be called the *Corpus scriptorum latinorum Paravianum*. Carlo Pascal, the energetic professor of Pavia, assumed the general editorship and quickly secured the services of many of the best Italian scholars. The books are now being rapidly issued in thin and inexpensive editions bound in light board. Each contains a modest critical apparatus with a brief account of the manuscripts; at times a convenient list of testimonia or a word-index is added. In fact, the edition was designed to meet practically the same needs as are served by the Teubner texts.

More than twenty volumes have now appeared in pamphlets containing an average of one hundred pages. Pascal has himself edited Catullus, Cicero's *De Republica*, Vergil's *Bucolics*, and Plautus' *Captivi*. Of the other editions scholars will be particularly interested in the *Germania* and the *Agricola* (ed.

Annibaldi), the *Dialogus* (Wick), the *Aeneid* in four volumes and the *Catalepton* (Sabbadini), Plautus' *Miles* (Zuretti), and Seneca's *De Ira* (Barriera).

Excellent taste is evident in the type, as was to be expected in an Italian text. That the paper is poor cannot be criticized in these days. "Dopo la guerra" new impressions can and doubtless will be made on firmer texture. The earlier volumes were generally sold at two lire or less. That the price has doubled on recent volumes need, perhaps, not be taken as an augury of the future.

I shall here take space to notice only three volumes that seem to be typical of the series. Pascal's CATULLUS, the first volume issued in the series, presents a fairly conservative and well considered text. His own proposal, however, of probissimei (29, 23) and salopugium (53, 5) will probably not win approval; the reversion to Statius' illac atque alia (64, 16) despite Vahlen, the adoption of Quintus as the poet's praenomen, and the acceptance from D of the dull line inserted after 65, 8 give an indication of occasional fallibility.

To the reviewer the critical apparatus is disappointing since it does not provide a new and independent collation of R, which of course was accessible. This manuscript may perhaps not supply many new readings of value, but a study of it will at least prove it the ultimate source of a large group of Italian manuscripts (see *Class. Phil.* 1908, p. 234). Its real value, therefore, lies in its power to jettison once and for all the conjectures of M, B, D, A, C and the rest of the emended group. At least a half of the apparatus of Ellis, Friedrich, and Pascal might then be thrown overboard, and the space conserved for a fuller collation of the three best MSS. Pascal apparently accepted the readings of R from Ellis, whose collation of it was far from reliable. His text, therefore, though it will appeal to many as the best now in existence, is disappointing because the final work is still left undone.

The AGRICOLA was naturally assigned to Annibaldi who discovered the Jesi manuscript. In the preface he states that he would not depart from its readings nisi cum necessitas cogeret. It must not be thought, however, that he is oversanguine about its value. Indeed many scholars would have found its evidence more compelling than has Annibaldi. So, for instance, nonanis 26, 10 may well stand; in 38, 27 the text of E gives good sense without any drastic alterations, and in 20, 9 Gudeman's incitamenta is paleographically somewhat closer to E's inritamenta than is invitamenta adopted from Halm.

Sabbadini, who issued a good edition of the *Catalepton* in 1903, when very few scholars considered them worthy of attention, has edited the slim volume devoted to [P. VERGILII MARONIS] CATALEPTON, MAECENAS, PRIAPEUM "QUID HOC NOVI

est," which happen to be found together in the Brussels manuscript. He wisely adds a few explanatory notes in the appendix, some of which, especially on nos. 12 and 13, provide new suggestions of value. For Cat. I he adopts Birt's now unquestioned interpretation, but in VII he rejects Birt's equally convincing reading in favor of *pōtus* on the assumption that Vergil had permitted himself a lapse in quantity. He still clings to the tradition that III refers to Alexander, that IX was written for Messala's triumph in 27 B. C., and that XIV was composed in the days of the poet's maturest work. On the title-page Vergil's name appears in brackets, which seems to imply that the Catalaunon have no more claim to authenticity than the Maecenases. In this connection we may mention that in another volume of the series Pascal edits the *Moretum* and the *Copa*, *falso Virgilio attributa*, with the *Bucolics*. This peculiar method of scattering the poems of the appendix in several volumes seems especially unfortunate now when they are being so widely discussed. The grouping should be determined by the classical tradition of what was Vergilian, not by the accidents and humors of medieval scribes.

In general, the Corpus promises to be of great service even to American scholars, though it is primarily intended for the use of students in the Italian licei. The various volumes are so limited in content that they will probably not displace the Oxford texts in our upper college classes, but they, each and all, contain scientific contributions which the careful student cannot disregard with impunity. Certainly the classicists of Italy are heartily to be congratulated on this new proof of their courage in times of deep distress, and especially of their thoroughly grounded scholarship.

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Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārçvanātha. By MAURICE BLOOMFIELD. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1919. 266 pages, 8°. Cloth, \$3.00.

The Jains have been less exploited than the Buddhists. They are a harmless sect that once spread out from northern India and had considerable influence there and even in the south, though their rather colorless tenets could not in the end make headway against the more robust deism that delights the Hindu mind. Their literature is lacking also in that personal charm which in the case of Buddhism radiates from the magnetic personality of the master. Even the historical founder of the Jain religion is not attractive, possibly because he is not really historical. But the Jains, who lived on saintship rather than on divinity, were

not content with one founder; they invented a number of founders, each a little more remote than the last, and fed themselves religiously with the staff of life to be extracted from such sustenance as tales of moral character supposed to be in line with the teaching of the supposed pre-founder. Of course this resulted historically in nothing more than a cycle of stories, gradually revolving about a fanciful figure, the figure itself, as conceived by tradition, being as great a figment of the imagination as its environment of rather dull 'histories.' Such a collection has gathered about the name of the figure called Pārśvanātha, believed by Jains to be the pre-founder or pre-savior; for all these Jain saints are known as saviors when they have "prepared the way" for salvation, or in the native idiom have "made a ford" for others to cross the stream of life to safety. They are not saviors in the Christian sense, only as making it possible for others to cross the stream of life to safety. This Pārśvanātha is imagined as a real "ford-maker" who lived in the eighth century B. C. and it is not impossible that he actually existed. Miracles in approved style, not necessarily copied from Buddhism but based on the notion of *comme il faut*, accompanied his birth; angels acclaimed him, as dreams had prophesied him to be the coming light of the world; the gods sang a hymn to his queen-mother and garlanded the infant prodigy already recognized as an Arhat (Saint). A serpent seen by his mother in a dream provided occasion for the savior's name; the snake was by her side, *pārśva*, hence he was called Side, Pārśva (*nātha* is savior). It is only fair to the Jains to say that they were probably not responsible for the exhilarating name, which occurs as a name even among the Buddhists. The Jains remembered a saint Side and then invented a reason for the name. A princess called Beautiful heard the praises of Side sung, after he was grown up, and fell in love with him because of the song, without having seen him, which is not uncommon in Brittany as well as in India. Rivalry on the part of another aspirant produced some difficulty, happily overcome by Pārśva who, however, after he had saved the girl and her father, announced that he preferred salvation to marriage and at first declined her hand. But afterwards he decided to marry first and get salvation afterwards. Ultimately he renounced the world and preached the law of righteousness that others might be saved. His first sermon, for example, inculcated charity, virtue, asceticism, and character. He illustrated by stories the meaning of each term used in its various applications, charity, for example, being defined as the giving of knowledge, or of security, or of religious support (by gifts to Jain beggars). The illustrative tales are usually fables of antiquity warped to a religious purpose and attached to Pārśva's name. They are told at length and are as inspiring as moral tales and relics of saints usually are. Some of

them repeat old material familiar to us from Buddhist sources. The main story of the pre-founder's life thus jogs slowly along with excursions of tales in every direction. Embossed tales of the sort are no novelty; they are typical of the East. Besides Pārśva's sermons there are also those of his disciple Āryadatta, boxed in the same way. The narrative needs a thread of guidance in such tales, since one finds it difficult to remember where the main narrative has been forsaken for an excursus. Professor Bloomfield, in the present volume, has taken one version of the Pārśva cycle and by clear headings and sub-divisions made it easy to follow the drift of the tale and the various by-paths of sub-tales. He has not translated the original but given a *résumé* of it, that is of the Life of Pārśva by Bhāvadeva, a late author who wrote in the somewhat corrupt Sanskrit of his time and sect. The Life also includes lives lived before the last earthly existence. The real value of the book is not historical, but the large number of fables and moral tales adds not a little to our knowledge of Hindu fiction. The lexicographical material is valuable and has been carefully arranged in an appendix. For example, a new *-bha* word is *jalabha*; *gophaṇī* is a kind of cannon; *sthagati* is noticeable; as is the injunctive *ā-tathās* (from *tan*). Sanskrit scholars will find much more that is interesting in Appendix II and those who like proverbs will find an assortment of them in Appendix I. The book as a whole contains "The first complete account of Pārśvanātha published to the Western world," as the preface says, and as such is a welcome addition to the Jain literature available to students of religions.

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Publications of the American Ethnological Society, edited by Franz Boas. Vol. VII, Pt. I. WILLIAM JONES, Ojibwa Texts. Edited by TRUMAN MICHELSON. 1917. xxi + 501 pp. Pt. II. 1919. x + 777 pp.; 2 plates.

In the case of the translation of an American language into a European one, all that can be expected is a correct conveying of the general sense of the narratives. A precise translation into English of a language which does not have sex gender but does possess a gender which distinguishes the animate from the inanimate is out of the question. And gender is but one of the many difficulties. The translations given are entirely adequate for the comprehension of the context of the Ojibwa narratives. From this context much of the structure of the language has to be determined. Such a large body of text, for instance, should

furnish material to determine under what circumstances the animate gender is used. The task remains for someone to compile from these texts a dictionary and a grammar more ample and precise than those now in existence.

These volumes are examples of the sort of coöperation which ought to exist more generally. First should be mentioned the author, Dr. WILLIAM JONES, in blood one-quarter Indian, in early rearing totally Indian, in education an alumnus of Harvard and Columbia. He brought to his work native ability, deep interest, and a splendid preparation. Unfortunately he was killed by natives in the Philippine Islands in March, 1909, before the material composing these two volumes was prepared for the printer.

There should be mentioned also those Ojibwa Indians who having learned these myths and tales from others dictated them for this permanent record. The narratives themselves are of unknown composition but their particular literary form depends in some part upon the individual narrator.

The preparation of the manuscript for the printer and the prolonged and arduous labor of carrying these two volumes through the press fell upon Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON whose knowledge of Algonkian languages particularly fitted him for this work. Such unselfish labor deserves great credit.

The field work involved was provided for by the Carnegie Institution, which contributed largely to the expense of printing the volumes. It should be added in conclusion that the opportunity for Dr. Jones to do the field work, the rescuing of the manuscripts after Dr. Jones' death, the establishment of the series in which the volumes appear, and the arrangement for their being issued are due to Professor Franz Boas and his great and prolonged interest in the scientific work of Dr. William Jones.

P. E. GODDARD.

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REPORTS.

RIVISTA DI FILOLOGIA, Vol. XLVIII (1919).

Pp. 1-4. This volume of the Rivista is dedicated to the President and people of the United States, in grateful recognition of services rendered to Italy during the Great War.

Pp. 5-26. Giuseppe Fraccaroli. An appreciative review of a distinguished scholar's work, especially on Pindar, Aeschylus and Plato. By C. O. Zuretti.

Pp. 27-33. Divagazioni sul ritmo oratorio. R. Sabbadini. The writer infers from a passage of Claudius Sacerdos (G. L. VI 493 K) that accentual rhythm (in prose) was taught and practised in the third century, side by side with the teaching of quantitative rhythm.

P. 34. Un indovinello anagrammatico. R. Sabbadini. A note on the famous puzzle *Sator arepo tenet*, etc. The writer tamely substitutes *opera* for *arepo*, and *sator* for *rotas*, thus reducing the possible meaning to a single phrase of three words, *sator opera tenet* or *tenet opera sator*.

Pp. 35-41. Incerti poetae Octavia. Luigi Valmaggi. A recent edition of the Octavia (by A. Santoro, 1918) argues for a late date of composition, as late as the third century. Valmaggi examines the arguments offered, but finds no reason for thinking that it was written later than the time of Vespasian.

Pp. 42-53. Sopra la prima bucolica di Virgilio. Giacomo Giri. Tityrus is not Vergil, or Vergil's vilicus, but an imaginary person, now the owner of a bit of land which he formerly held as a slave. He is really a less important character in the Eclogue than Meliboeus. Apparently the poet's chief purpose was to emphasize not so much the good fortune of Tityrus as the distress of his less fortunate neighbors.

Pp. 54-75. Le opere spurie di Epicarmo e l'Epicharmus di Ennio. Carlo Pascal. Speculation as to the Pseudepicharmeia mentioned by Athenaeus (XIV 648 D) and some of the fragments of Ennius.

Pp. 76-80. Demetrio Triclinio e gli scolii a Teocrito. Francesco Garin. Triclinius used only a single codex, of the Genus Vaticanum. The scholia which he gives under his own name are for the most part a compilation of earlier notes (especially on Idylls 1-8), with a few additional notes, explanatory, etymo-

logical or grammatical, on lines on which he found no commentary.

Pp. 81-95. Erennio Modestino. Giovanni Pesenti prints the text of the *Periochae* of Vergil as given in *Codex Monacensis* Lat. 807 (M). These are ascribed to Herennius Modestinus, or 'Modestinus iurisconsultus.' They were perhaps written by Modestinus the tutor of the young Maximinus (emperor 235-8).

Pp. 96-134. Reviews and notices of new books: A. C. Clark, *The Descent of Manuscripts*; Walter Dennison, *A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period*; W. A. Merrill, *Lucreti de Rerum Natura libri sex*; Clifford H. Moore, *Pagan Ideas of Immortality during the Early Empire*; Henry A. Sanders, *The Washington Manuscript of the Psalms*; etc.

Pp. 135-160. Reports of periodicals and list of books received.

P. 160. Obituary notice of Benedetto Soldati (d. Dec. 26, 1918), editor of the *Carmina* of Pontano.

Pp. 161-215. Osservazioni sulla terza guerra Sannitica. Vincenzo Costanzi. A study of the situation of Rome immediately after the Second Samnite War, the relations between Lucania and Rome before the Third War, the behavior of the Lucanians at the time of the Third War, the part played by the 'Samnites' and the 'Sabines,' the military action of the years 297-296, the Etruscans in the Third Samnite War. There is an appendix on the expedition of Cleonymus and the location of Thuriae (Livy, x 2). Thuriae was probably south of Brundisium.

Pp. 216-222. Preteso oblio della quantità nei grammatici latini. Enrico Cocchia. On p. 31 of this volume R. Sabbadini reports the grammarian M. Plotius Sacerdos as regarding Cicero's *clausula perspicere possit* as the close of a hexameter verse. This is based on a misinterpretation of Sacerdos' words (VI 493, K.).

Pp. 223-240. Tibulliana. F. Calonghi. Some readings reported from a recent examination of the *Codex Ambrosianus*.

Pp. 241-248. Theocritea. Francesco Garin. Notes on Id. II 33-4; II 106; XIII 14; XIII 61-3; XV 77; XV 79; XV 100-1. In II 106 the best manuscripts have *ἐν δὲ μετώπῳ* not *ἐκ δὲ*. That is, beads of perspiration stood out on her forehead. In XIII 15 *αὐτῷ* may be a genitive; cp. the Italian expression 'ritrae dal padre,' of a son who is like his father. XIII 61 should be omitted. In XV 77 *ἀποκλέζας* means that the bridegroom shuts in (*κλείει*) the bride, separating her (*ἀπὸ*) from her girl friends.

Pp. 249-259. Note su Pausania. Tito Tosi. Notes on I 22, 6; II 16, 6-7; IV 5, 6 (read Ἀνδροκλέους μὲν ἐκδιδόναι Πολυχάρην ὡς ἀνδριά τε <καὶ δεινὰ> καὶ πέρα δεινῶν εἰργασμένον); VIII 24, 4; X 26, 4.

Pp. 260-270. Particolarità della costruzione del *nominativus cum infinitivo*. A. Gandiglio.

Pp. 271-273. M. Minuccio Felice Oct. 14, 1. Arnaldo Beltrami. "Homo Plautinae prosapiae" = homo caninae prosapiae = unus de grege advocatorum vel causarum patronorum (cp. Festus, pp. 259, 84 Lindsay). "Pistorum praecipuus" = advocatorum vel causarum patronorum praecipuus.

Pp. 274-277. Note all' *Elettra* di Euripide. Giuseppe Ammendola. Discussion of lines 95, 164-65, 251, 641.

Pp. 277-278. Nota a Sofocle. Giuseppe Ammendola. Discussion of Philoctetes, 830-31. The chorus prays that sleep "scenda in mezzo alla luce serena diffusa nell' aria e si posi sugli occhi dell' eroe infelice."

Pp. 279-298. Reviews and notices of new books.

Pp. 299-316. Reports of classical journals.

P. 320. Notice of the death of Professor Pietro Rasi of the University of Padua (Apr. 2, 1919).

Pp. 321-326. Le novissime dubitazioni contro la etruscità delle due iscrizioni preelleniche di Lemno. Elia Lattes. A reply to L. Pareti's article, *Rivista*, XLVI 153 ff.

Pp. 327-337. Studi sull' accento greco e latino. *Accentus mater musices*. M. Lenchantin De Gubernatis. In ancient singing, as in modern, the normal prose accent of a word was sometimes transposed.

Pp. 338-347. Il testo interpolato del Ludus di Seneca. Remigio Sabbadini. The first edition of the Ludus was published at Rome in 1513. The name of the editor, C. Sylvanus (Germanicus), is an Academic pseudonym; he belonged to the circle founded at Rome by his countryman Goritz ('Corycius'). His interpolations are taken mainly from Suetonius and Juvenal. [Sabbadini says that only two copies of the editio princeps are known, one in the Vatican and one at Munich. A. P. Ball, in his edition of the Ludus, New York, 1902, described a third copy, in the library of Columbia University. And in his commentary he indicated the source of each of Sylvanus' interpolations.] The first three editions by Beatus Rhenanus merely reproduce the text of the editio princeps. In his fourth edition, 1529, he was able to make some use of the Codex Wissenburgensis. [In Rhenanus' commentary on the Ludus, 1515, he

twice cites Velleius Patereculus, whom he had just discovered that year. These citations confirm Robinson Ellis's argument that the copy of the Murbach MS. written by Boniface Amerbach, Aug. 1516, is not the copy made for Rhenanus by his 'amicus quidam.']

Pp. 348-350. *Tener vaccula*. M. Lenchantin De Gubernatis. In the Vergilian Catalepton, 2, 14, *teneraque matre mugiente vaccula*, it might be well to revive the conjecture of Muretus, *tenerque . . . vaccula*, and call 'tener' a feminine, like 'pauper.'

Pp. 351-357. *Le avventure di Leucippo e Clitofonte nel papiro di Oxyrhynchos 1250*. Francesco Garin. A papyrus of the beginning of the fourth century has preserved a long passage of the second book of Achilles Tatius. This shows a striking variation from the text of the mediaeval manuscripts: chapters II and III of the manuscript text are here inserted between chapters VIII and IX. This gives the narrative in a better order. The new fragment is of considerable importance for constituting the text. It helps to fix the date of Achilles Tatius: about 250, certainly not later than 300.

Pp. 358-365. *Della relazione che intercede secondo Fozio tra Lucio di Patrae e Luciano*. Enrico Cocchia. A defence of views set forth in the writer's study of Apuleius, 1915 (A. J. P. XXXVIII 317).

Pp. 366-380. *Clemente Alessandrino nell' Ottavio di Minucio Felice*. Arnaldo Beltrami. The first instalment of an attempt to show that Minucius knew and used the writings of Clement of Alexandria.

Pp. 381-387. *Nota Virgiliana*. Gino Funaioli. The first line of the sixth Eclogue, *Prima Syracosio dignata est ludere versu*, means, 'My muse was the first to sing,' etc., not 'At first, my Muse,' etc.

Pp. 388-393. *Note critiche ed ermeneutiche ad Aurelius Victor*. Francesco Stabile. Notes on 1, 6; 3, 1; 3, 3; 3, 7; 3, 8; 8, 2; 12, 1; 17, 7; 20, 27; 24, 10; 37, 7; 39, 11; 39, 26.

Pp. 394-397. *Etimologia di vinolentus*. Francesco Stabile. Defends the old etymology, from *vinum* with the suffix *lentus*, against a recent derivation from *vinum* and *olere*.

Pp. 398-413. *Proteo e Cirene nella favola Virgiliana di Aristeo*. Giacomo Giri. The information given to Aristaeus by Proteus and by Cyrene is the information which it was appropriate for each of them to give.

Pp. 414-422. *Philodemea*. Ettore Bignone. A study of Pap. Herc. ined. 168; Pap. Herc. 57.

Pp. 423-433. Nuove ricerche sul proemio del poema di Lucrezio. Ettore Bignone. Lines 44-49 of the first book, 'omnis enim per se divum natura,' etc., are probably not an interpolation, and should be kept in the text. The lacuna should be indicated just before them, not after them.

Pp. 434-438. Teocrito nel papiro di Ossirinco 1618. Francesco Garin. This papyrus is of very little value for the text.

P. 439. In Leonardum Vincium. E. Stampini. A Latin epigram written for the fourth centenary of the artist's death.

Pp. 440-444. Pietro Rasi. A sympathetic sketch of Rasi's life and work, by M. Lenchantin De Gubernatis.

Pp. 445-490. Reviews and notices of new books: The *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XIII (a detailed report by C. O. Zuretti); R. Sabbadini, [P. Vergili Maronis] *Catalepton*; some pleasant comments on the Hoeufft prize poems of 1917 and 1918; Concetto Marchesi, *Le Corone di Prudenzio tradotte e illustrate*; Emilio Costa, *Cicerone giureconsulto*, Parte IV; etc.

Pp. 491-506. Reports of classical periodicals.

Pp. 507-512. List of new books received.

W. P. MUSTARD.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE, Vol. XLIII (1919), pts. 1, 2.

Pp. 5-20. Notes de critique verbale sur Scribonius Largus (continued from Vol. XLII). Paul Jourdan. The general conclusion of this long article seems to be that the text of Scribonius is too uncertain for any profitable study of his Latinity.

Pp. 21-34. Eudoxe de Cnide et l'Egypte, contribution à l'étude du syncrétisme gréco-égyptien. Georges Méautis. A study of two passages of Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.*, c. 6 and c. 64. These passages indicate that Eudoxus paid some attention to the assimilation of the gods of Egypt and Greece, but did not accept all the identifications which were generally proposed. The first passage suggests that he reported as Egyptian some theories and conceptions which may properly be called Orphic.

P. 35. Rhétorique à Hérennius, IV, xxii, 31. L. Bayard. In the statement "Alexandro si vita data longior esset, trans Oceanum . . . Macedonum transvolasset," the lacuna might be filled by the word "nomen."

Pp. 36-46. Deux papyrus des 'Publicazioni della Società italiana.' Paul Collart. No. 149 is an epic fragment from some

poet of the school of Nonnus. No. 156 is a fragment of a Life of Aesop.

P. 46. Thucydide II 65, 12. L. Bayard. The MS. reading *τρία μὲν ἔτη* may very well be retained. The period during which Athens had to contend against so many enemies at once lasted three years—from 407, when Cyrus joined in the war, to the capitulation of the city in 404.

Pp. 47-62. Les papyrus d'Oxyrhynchos, à propos de tome XIII. Paul Collart. Discussion (with translations) of the new Oxyrhynchus fragments of Lysias, of Hyperides' (?) For Lycophron, and of the dialogue Alcibiades of Aeschines the Socratic. Pap. 1622 gives a new reading of Thucydides, II 67, 3. Here the MSS. have *τὸ πλοῖον ᾧ ἔμελλον τὸν Ἑλλάσποντον περαιώσειν*. The papyrus has *τὸ πλοῖον ἔμελλε, κ. τ. λ.* Collart proposes a 'contamination' of the two texts: *ᾧ ἔμελλε . . .*, 'the vessel on which he was to send them across.'

Pp. 63-65. *Color deterrimus* (Virgile, Géorgiques, III 82). J. S. Phillimore. For 'color deterrimus albis | et gilvo' read 'albis | e gilvo,' i. e., 'cream-coloured.'

Pp. 66-77. Notes sur l'*Electre* de Sophocle. L. Parmentier. In line 363 *μόνον* is an adverb, not an adjective, and *βόσκημα* is the subject of *μὴ λυπεῖν ἐμέ*—"Quant à moi, qu'il me suffise que ce que je mange ne me répugne pas." At 775 ff. translate: "lui qui, né de ma propre vie, a déserté mon sein et a fui ma tutelle, pour vivre à l'étranger." Notes on 1220, 1312-3, 1344, 1466-7.

Pp. 78-85. Un mythe pythagoricien chez Posidonius et Philon. Franz Cumont. A comment on a passage of Philo of Alexandria, De Plant. Noe, 28, § 117 ff. This passage shows the influence of the Stoic teachings of Posidonius.

Pp. 86-92. Hypothèses critiques sur les *Pensées* de Marc-Aurèle. A.-I. Trannoy. Textual conjectures on I 16, 17; II 17, 1; III 11, 2; III 12, 1; IV 27; V 4; V 7; V 15 1; V 23, 3; VI 13, 1; VI 38; VII 9, 1; VII 24; VII 58, 3; VIII 5; VIII 30-31; VIII 35; IX 10, 3; IX 28, 2; X 6, 1; X 11, 2; X 15; X 38; XI 18, 8; XII 1, 5; XII 10-11; XII 17-18.

Pp. 93-96. Bulletin bibliographique. Reviews of Louis Landrand's *Manuel des Études grecques et latines*, fasc. IV-VI, and of Lane Cooper's *Concordance to the Works of Horace*.

Pp. 97-174. Sur le texte de l'*Odyssée*. Victor Bérard. At IV 208 for *γενομένων* read *γεναμένων*—"heureux en son épouse, heureux en ses enfants." At VIII 136 read *αἰχένα τε στιβαρὸν στήθος τε μέγ'*· *οὐδέ τι ἦβης*. At XIII 295 read *φίλοι ὧς τοι παιδὸθεν εἰσίν*. At II 87 read *σοὶ δ'ἀχέων οὐ τι μνηστῆρές γ' αἴτιοι εἰσιν*. At XXII 143 read *ἐς θάλαμον Ὀδυσῆος*. At XIII 246 for

βούβοτος read σύβοτος. At III 260 read κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ ἐκ ἄστεος. At XVI 165 for μεγάρου read σταθμοῖο. At IV 758 for γόνον read ὀδύνas. III 19-20, III 98-101, IV 322-27, are interpolations. At VI 303 for ἥρωος or ἥρως read εἴρεσθ'. At XXIII 24 read αὐτ' ἔξω μεγάρων. At IX 302 for θυμός read μῦθος. At X 528 for εἰς Ἑρεβος read εἰς βόθρον. At II 148 read τὸ δ' ἰθὺς ῥα πέτοντο, or τὸ δὲ θοῶς ῥα πέτοντο. At II 168 read φραζόμεθ' ὥς κέν σφας καταπαύσομεν. At XXII 446 for ἀλλέες read ἀναϊδέες. At VIII 499 for φαῖνε read ὕφαινε. At X 554 for ἐν δώμασι read ἐπὶ δώμασι. At VII 321 for πολλόν read πολύ. At I 436 read ὦξ' ὃ γε θύρας.

Pp. 175-226. Inscriptions de Didymes, Classement chronologique des comptes de la construction du Didymeion. Bernard Haussoullier. Text (with discussion) of important inscriptions discovered at Miletus in 1903 and 1904.

Pp. 227-240. Bulletin bibliographique. Reviews of E. H. Sturtevant's *Linguistic Change*; W. Warde Fowler's *Aeneas at the Site of Rome*; Charles Favez' edition of Seneca's *Consolatio ad Helviam*; François Villeneuve's *Essai sur Perse*; Max Niedermann's *Essais d'étymologie et de critique verbale latines*, etc.

Revue des revues et publications d'Académies relatives à l'antiquité classique, Fascicules publiés en 1918, pages 1-32.

W. P. MUSTARD.

BRIEF MENTION.

My theory of the sonnet, or, to be precise, of that form of sonnet to which I am addicted, is of the same order as my view of the structure of Pindar's triadic odes. That analysis was pronounced masterly by scholars who were not favourably impressed by my Pindaric studies. But what is considered masterly in one generation is often held in the next to be the work of an idle dreamer or the poor result of imperfect induction.

Just as I looked upon each triadic poem as one great stanza, the several triads forming, as it were, verses within the whole, and thus yielding such proportions as are to be expected in verses, so I look upon the sonnet, and its parts. To me, it repeats the movement of the elegiac distich; the octave representing the hexameter, the sextet, the so-called pentameter, of the elegiac distich. Ovid says,

*Par erat inferior versus; risisse Cupido
Dicitur atque unum surripuisse pedem.*

Critic after critic has pronounced Ovid to be no poet, but merely a rhetorician; but for that matter, the same thing has been said of Byron, and I am disposed to stand up for Kirby Smith's favourite and, at one time, my own. At all events, he has illuminated the ages with that 'rethoryke sweete.' His fancies, it is true, are often merely conceits, as in those famous verses in which he represents the Nile as having hidden his head at the conflagration caused by the misadventure of Phaethon and having kept it hidden since. In like manner, with the best will in the world, one cannot applaud his interpretation of the significance of the elegiac distich. This figure shows only too plainly that the deft verse-wright who established by his practice the tyrannis of the iambic close of the pentameter followed the five-foot rule of the metricians to the effacement of origin and symbolism of the elegiac distich as understood by the rhythmist (A. J. P. XXIX 371). This long syllable, which is not only long but prolonged, gives a lyric character to the verse and recalls the process by which the heroic hexameter came into being. In that prolonged note we hear the trumpet-call of the warrior, the wail of the mourner, the yearning cry of the lover. The elegiac distich was not too good for every-day life and it went forth conquering and to conquer the domain of inscriptional verse. The spirit of mockery availed itself of the form wherewith to scoff, to jeer, to flout, and the protracted final

syllable was not a solemn laying on of hands, a wail, a sigh, but resembled rather the thrust of a long skewer into the rearward of an adversary. It is this function of the antique epigram that has been preserved in its modern equivalents, whereas the sonnet, the true *analogon*, gives less scope to satire. With this conception of the elegiac distich, it will not be surprising that I should look upon the modern sonnet as an *analogon* on a large scale. The octave, as I have just said, represents the hexameter, the sextet, the pentameter, and the likeness to the latter is heightened by the use of the terza rima. To push the analogy farther and show the correspondences in the offices of the several parts, would require a long disquisition. One thing, however, I may mention. The Greeks kept prose and poetry steadily apart—exceptions, as in the case of Ion, are extremely rare—but the elegiac distich was open to all; and I may claim Hellenic authority for introducing my sonnets into the company of grave grammarians. If that chiffonier Diogenes Laertius might try his hand on epigram, why not I try mine on sonnets?

Whatever may be thought of the theory of the sonnet, in my practice I have been frankly rhetorical, and the structure is as simple as that of the fable, for which to be sure, the elegiac metre does not at first seem to be well adapted, though it has been so employed by Socrates, if the fragment is genuine, and by Avianus.

Maupassant's *Une Vie*, which once read never lets one go, opens with a picture of an old couple, who despite sundry episodes have been brought by a long life in common into a closer union. It is a commentary on the familiar theme, *consuetudo concinnat amorem*. The prolonged communion of an editor with his author may well be compared to a marriage in which the party of the first part may be constrained to echo Laurence Sterne's confession in his Latin epistle to Hall-Stevenson, *sum fatigatus et aegrotus de meâ uxore*, but, in the old times at least, the long familiarity bred a certain liking that is perhaps more desirable than what passes for love. Still, we live in a restless age, an age of easy divorce, for which incompatibility is often the principal reason, and I have had occasion to notice in the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY indications of dissatisfaction with Pindar on the part of those who outwardly at least are in close relations with him. Occasional quarrels may be set down to the *amantium irae*, and such tiffs are familiar to the student of Pindar. So, for instance, Bergk vilipends the Ninth Pythian which happens to be an especial favourite of mine. But we have all emancipated ourselves from German aesthetics.

Wilamowitz and Schroeder have committed themselves to judgments which are as harsh as those of Mahaffy and Murray.

And the other day my attention was called by a true lover and knower of Pindar to a cry of despair¹ uttered by one who is accounted among the leading German poets. It is couched in the measure regularly employed by the Greek epigrammatists, and, in further illustration of the theory that the modern sonnet corresponds to the Greek epigram, I have not translated it but transposed it into that form:

Can Pindar's lay be made to live again,
Which in Olympia once the Hellenes stirred?
His words of wisdom deep may still be heard,
And traces of his upward flight remain.

We have an inkling of the rhythmic strain,
Which bore aloft each many-storied word.
To hope for more, however, were absurd;
Renunciation is our plan, 'tis plain.

And then the myth. What can we do with that?
What was a living treasure-house to him,
A tree of life, emotion's fountain-head,
To us are names, all colorless and flat.
Ho! tireless searchers, resolute and grim,
The thing is dead. Seek not to wake the dead.

It will be observed that Geibel has put in the front line the things that remain of Pindar, the 'Tiefsinn seiner Gedanken.' Against the low estimate in which certain Pindarists have held the thought of the great Theban, I have protested more than once and venture to add another protest in the fashion I have affected so much of late:

Pindar is charged with poverty of thought:
A slender wit, in royal mantle clad,
He only gave what he from others had,
He only taught what he himself was taught.

But we, who deemed his odes with wisdom fraught,
Heed not his critics' small, fault-finding fad—
We, who in every time, or good or bad,
Counsel and comfort from the singer sought,

¹ "Nimmer gelingt's dir, Freund, uns Pindars Lied zu beleben,
Wie's in Olympias Hain einst die Hellenen ergriff.
Zwar wir erbau'n uns noch heut an dem Tiefsinn seiner Gedanken,
Spüren des Fittichs Schwung, der den Begeisterten trug,
Ahnén die Rhythmengewalt der sich kühn auftürmenden Worte,
Aber der reine Genuss bleibt uns auf ewig versagt.
Was ein lebendiger Schatz ihm war und ein Born der Empfindung,
Ward zum dunklen Geweb frostiger Namen für uns;
Pflückt' er doch seinen Gesang vom blühenden Baume des Mythos,
Und kein forschender Fleiss weckt den erstorbenen auf."

Emmanuel Geibel, 'Distichen aus dem Wintertagebuche' (1877). Cf. N. J. B. 19, 195.

And not in vain. But when the counsel came,
Such was its music that we half forgot
Its sterling value for its silvery ring—

The cherub wisdom for the seraph flame.
Comfort descended, but they noted not
The healing for the plumage of its wing.

In his Life of Apollonius of Tyana, Philostratus¹ tells a story about the travels of that worthy, which many years ago, I dressed up after my fashion at that time, *Essays and Studies*, page 261.

Scene: Zeugma, a city of Mesopotamia.

Dramatis personae: Apollonius; custom-house officer.

C. H. O. Well, sir. Sharp's the word. What have you got to declare? What are you importing?

Apollonius. Let me see. (Counts on his fingers.) There's Grace, there's Temperance, there's Faith, there's Hope, there's Charity, there's——

C. H. O. (Writes.) Be quick about it. Are those all your slaves?

Apollonius. Slaves, indeed! They are my virtues.

The motif was not original with philosophers. It occurs in Greek comic poetry once, if not more than once, and as Philostratus dealt with reminiscence, I will match reminiscence with reminiscence. My memory goes back to a very early period of my life, and what I am about to record may seem trivial, but I have an invincible propensity to correlate fiction with fact, literature with life. If I have not booked my own life, I have at all events lived my books. A large vacant, sunny lot, adjoining my grandfather's house in Charleston, was the favourite resort of negro washer-women who exercised a vocation which has been consecrated by the greatest poetical genius. Indeed, one of my earliest essays, entitled *Nausikaa*, dealt with the washer-women of lay and legend. An urchin of some eight or ten years, I stood by, watching and listening. The race is fond of talking about religious matters and I expected to hear something about their experiences. One of them said to the other, "I had faith, and I had hope, and I had charity, and I had patience, and I had temperance." Having been early indocinated into an abhorrence of self-righteousness, I was disgusted at this display of what I supposed to be claims to a high seat in the Kingdom, but then after a pause she said, "And last of all I had Sukey Ann," thus reversing the situation at Zeugma.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

¹ Bk. i, chap. 20 (Conybeare's text):

παρόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν μέσην τῶν ποταμῶν ὁ τελώνης ὁ ἐπιβεβλημένος τῷ Ζεῳματι πρὸς τὸ πινάκιον ἤγε καὶ ἡρώτα, ὃ τι ἀπάγοιεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος "ἀπάγω" ἔφη "σωφροσύνην δικαιοσύνην ἀρετὴν ἐγκράτειαν ἀνδρείαν ἀσκήσιον." πολλὰ καὶ οὕτω θήλεα εἶπας ὀνόματα. ὁ δ' ἤδη βλέπων τὸ αὐτοῦ κέρδος "ἀπόγραψαι οὖν" ἔφη "τὰς δούλας." ὁ δὲ "οὐκ ἔστιν," εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ δούλας ἀπάγω ταύτας, ἀλλὰ δεσποίνας."

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I.—QUINTILIAN OF CALAGURRIS.¹

AN ESSAY.

The noted Spaniard-Roman, to one who seriously and patiently and repeatedly traverses his entire *Institutio*, appears to belong to that class of writers, who, to quote Lessing's familiar apophthegm, would, if they were living, prefer to be praised less, and read more. An author as cyclopaedic as Quintilian either attracts or repels. Used more *per* index, he attracts by the vast total of data and notices and appreciations preserved for us, and treasured by us when in search of things not elsewhere to be found. But Quintilian also repels: classicists as a rule refuse to master the technology of Greco-Roman rhetoric as it has been pursued and in the main become settled in the long period of time from Pericles to Domitian. The belief is widely held that it is just scholastic lumber, which may be left to mould in manuals like Volkmann's or in the storehouses of the lexica. One may be familiar with Aristotle's three books, with the unique² treatise *περὶ ὕψους*, with the works (introductory and appreciative) of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, with the entire range of Cicero's technical discourses from the *torso* of his early manhood, the Hermagorean half-finished treatise *de Rhetorica*, to the *Topica* of his penultimate year; one may then go beyond the elder Seneca, beyond Quintilian and Tacitus' *Dialogus*, and what is saved of the surveys of Suetonius, go on into the arid didactic compilations of Hermogenes, time of the

¹ Calagurris Julia Nassica, in the Tarraconensis of Spain.

² But still technical and didactic; v. E. G. Sihler in Proceedings of Am. Philol. Assn. for 1899.

Antonines, or to the slender monographs and *artes* of Halm's *Rhetores Minores*,³ in the very eventide of the classical world, to Marius Victorinus of Julian's time, to Augustine in his pre-baptismal period, bringing us to Theodosius, last guardian of the Roman Empire. But among them all, Quintilian will always hold a very distinguished and peculiar place of his own. Here, too, I must not fail to mention with a sense of deep obligation the technological lexicons of J. Chr. T. Ernesti (Leipzig 1795 and 1797), then, Spalding's great edition in six volumes, begun in 1798 and concluded in 1834 by Bonnell, with the latter's incomparable concordance and index volume as a conclusion. For minor contributions like those of Meister see Bursian's *Jhb.* Fr. Blass wrote his monograph on Greek Eloquence in the period from Alexander to Augustus in 1865 when he was but twenty-two, a remarkable production.⁴ One would look for more in Vol. I of Sandys's *History of Classical Scholarship* (Vol. I, 2nd ed. pp. 206-207) than the slender notes there found. I disagree with Sir John Sandys and also with Nettleship when they claim that young Tacitus in the *Dialogus* presented a freer, may I say a more autonomous, estimate of the dignity of Letters *per se* as over against their technical utilization by the *rhetor* and his pupils. The truth is, that the ancillary relation of the study of literature as a propaedeutic to Rhetoric is simply the essence of classic education, from Demetrius Phalereus on to the latest times, and this was again the practice and view of the Humanists, such as Filelfo, who combined (and consciously so) in their own careers the professions of the *grammaticus* and *rhetor*. To the estimates of Quintilian in the current manuals I can refer but briefly. Leo's lines on Quintilian are felicitous, sympathetic, beautiful. Schanz here, I believe, is (§§ 482-483) more searching and penetrating than Teuffel. Bernhardt, however, with the delicate felicity of his estimate, impresses me even more. Simcox (in his *Hist. of Lat. Lit.* Vol. I) has carried into his chapter on Quintilian an itch for dissent which reveals more of Simcox than of Quintilian. Mackail is greatly impressed with the survey of Greek and Roman Letters in B. X, which indeed seems the proper thing

³ Leipzig, Teubner, 1863.

⁴ He meekly repeated after Mommsen, that Cicero was no great orator. I say nothing further, for many were under that thrall.

to do or to be, as though there were a finality in many of those brilliant *sententiae*.^{*} In Dimsdale one misses a firm grasp of Quintilian's work as a whole as well as a finer characterization of the man himself.

Going forward now to my own task, may I not take for granted as familiar the data derived from Quintilian himself, and from Martial, Juvenal (esp. VII, 197 sq.), Pliny's Letters, Ausonius, Jerome, as these are all set down in the current manuals. His father and perhaps his grandfather had been professional *rhetoires* both in Spain and at the capital, I think. It was there that our Quintilian had been educated and begun life as *rhetor* and *patronus* both. When Galba quit the Tarraconensis in 68 A. D. to assume the purple of the principate he "took Quintilian along" (Jerome). Why? Hardly to function in publicity activities in Galba's interest. There were scores and scores of *Rhetores'* schools in Rome at that time. More likely that Quintilian, as the most conspicuous *rhetor* in the Tarraconensis and so, too, often pleading as *patronus* before the Roman proconsul, gained his good will and respect. Clearly, too, Quintilian, whose ideals and convictions shrank from the Neronian capital, as long as it was Neronian, perhaps deemed it opportune, favored, as he was, by the good will of the new princeps, to open his school in the centre of affairs, in the new era expected under the stern and severe Galba. But after the swift passing of his patron and of Otho and Vitellius, Quintilian seems to have maintained himself under the Flavian dynasty. That he held the fiscal chair of Rhetoric to 88, or so, we know, though we are not able to say that the imperial stipend began in 68. Of course he was, even through the imperial stipend, distinguished and without a peer in that vast profession. (Vollmer, Rh. Mus. 46, 1891, pp. 343-348, "Die Abfassungszeit der Schriften Quintilians," suggests that we connect Quintilian, X 3, 17, "Silva" with Statius' preface to his *Silvae* B. 4, but this impresses me as far-fetched. Quintilian there refers plainly to rough notes of an advocate in preparing a case.) Quintilian's *Institutio*, begun under Domitian, in 88 A. D., is both a farewell to a profession as well as a survey of the same.

^{*}Aristotle, I venture to say, is by no means antiquated. That great analyst deals with the fundamentals in his own incomparable way.

Of course, he would not have written the ultra-devotional passages referring to Domitian *after* September 18, 96. After, and I believe, in consequence of, publishing his first three books, Domitian had entrusted to him the superintendence of the education of the emperor's great-nephews (Quintilian IV, Pref. 2). The father of these young princes, Flavius Clemens, fell a victim of the emperor in 95 A. D. Clearly the twelve books of the *Institutio* were done and published before that time. Quintilian has, of course, been severely censured for abject servility, when he extolled the "iudicia coelestia" of the "sanctissimus censor." Here, by the by, I observe a confirmation or recognition of Domitian's favorite public character—as exhibited in his treatment of erring Vestals, his prosecution of unnatural vice, and other measures against decadence (Sueton. D. 8). It is easy to censure Quintilian, I say, but at that time it was simply impossible to refer to the last of the Flavians at all, in any publication, in any other way. Juvenal 4, 90: Nec civis erat, qui libera posset verba animi proferre et vitam impendere vero. In the other passage in Quintilian (X 1, 92), where the triumphator "Germanicus" is extolled as a great *potential* poet, the oblation by the imperial beneficiary is even more unctuous, though not greatly differing from the apotheosis-incense sent up for Caesar's heir by Vergil and Horace. Nothing, indeed, pleased Domitian more than to tell him that he really made a present of the principate to Vespasian and Titus.* The patron of the Augustan poets, indeed, was a much better man. Domitian was consistent in his insistence on the emperor-cult, without any concern as to the reprobation of coming generations. Tacitus and Pliny accepted high preferment at his hands. Later, indeed, when it was quite safe to do so, the one wrote his *Agricola* and the other his *Panegyricus*, works which will damn the last Flavian for all time. *Au reste*, I do believe Quintilian was chosen as chief educator of the heirs apparent on account of his severe censure of current vice and luxury as we now read

* Sueton. *Dom.* 13, Principatum adeptus neque in Senatu iactare dubitavit, et patri se et fratri dedisse. Cf. Statius, *Silvae* I, 5 sqq.; *Thebais* I, 22 sqq. Domitian's enactments for moral reforms, *Martial* VI, 7, 22; *II*, 60; *VI*, 2; *IX*, 6, 8. Cf. Schiller, *Roem. Kaiserzeit* I, 2, pp. 532 sq., where the merits of Domitian are enumerated with great fairness.

these things.⁷ We know that twice Domitian expelled the professional philosophers from the capital (once in 90 A. D. after the senatorial Stoics Rusticus, Helvidius, Senecio and others were executed or banished). I may mention Epictetus and Dio of Prusa. Literary works were burned; in fact, the trials for *maiestas* were mainly caused by books written by avowed Stoics among the Roman aristocracy. Students of Tacitus and the younger Pliny know with what warm sympathy these senators referred to those champions of freedom later on, and with what wise discretion, in their own public career, they abstained from any personal profession of Stoicism; they never joined the sect. Now Quintilian with unmistakable slur refers to professed or to professional philosophers: *Philosophiam ex professo . . . ostentantibus, parum decori sunt plerique orationis ornatus maximeque ex affectibus quos illi vitia dicunt* (the Stoics) . . . *non conveniunt barbae illi atque tristitiae* (XI 1, 33 sq.). But, on the other hand, the evidence in Quintilian's own work is conclusive, nay overwhelming, that his deeper convictions and sympathies in morals and ethical questions were simply *Stoic*. Let us see. The theory that moral judgment is innate in man and not (as the Epicureans held) something adventitious or a utilitarian product of experience: *modo nulla videatur aetas tam infirma quae non protinus quid rectum pravumque sit, discat* (I 3, 12; II 20, 6). The ideal Sage: *nam et Sapientem formantes eum, qui sit futurus consummatus undique et, ut dicunt, mortalis quidam deus*⁸ (I 10, 5). *Oratio, qua nihil praestantius homini dedit providentia* (I 10, 7). *Eius sectae, quae aliis severissima, aliis asperrima videtur* (I 10, 15). He names it not. Of the higher aim of the advocate's profession: not fees, "*sed ex animo suo et contemplatione et scientia petet perpetuum illum nec fortunae subiectum*" (I 12, 18). *Dedit enim hoc providentia hominibus munus, ut honesta magis iuvarent* (I 12, 19). *Deus ille, parens rerum fabricatorque mundi* (II 16, 12). *Rationem igitur nobis praecipuam dedit eiusque nos socios esse cum deis immortalibus voluit* (II 16, 14). *Animus ille coelestis* (ib. 17). He cites Kleantes

⁷ E. g. I 2, 6: *Mollis illa educatio, quam indulgentiam vocamus, nervos omnes etc., etc. . . nostras amicas, nostros concubinos vident, omne convivium obscenis canticis strepit etc.* Cf. I 8, 9.

⁸ Stob. Eclog. II 7. Seneca, Haase's Index, s. v. *Sapiens*.

on *τέχνη* * (ars). Oratory belongs to the category of the *intermediate* pursuits,¹⁰ ethically considered: *illa quaestio est maior: ex mediis artibus*, quae neque laudari per se, nec vituperari possunt. . . . (the *ἀδιάφορα*), habenda sit rhetorice (II 20, 1). Zeno's comparison of logic and oratory with fist and open hand had long become the traditional property of the schools (II 20, 7). Rational speech an intrinsic endowment of man (this again an Anti-Epicurean thesis) III 2, 1. (Cf. Lucretius V 1026.) *Corporis quidem fortuitorumque* (III 7, 12). So, too, a little further on, in his theory of *laudatio* and enumeration of gifts: *nam omnia quae extra nos bona sunt* (τὰ μὴ ἐφ' ἡμῖν of the Stoics) quaeque hominibus *forte* obtigerunt (III 7, 13). The Stoics (as above) are hostile to *πάθη* and so they eliminate *movere* from the postulates of oratory: *namque et affectus duplici ratione excludendos putabant*¹¹ (V Prooem. 1, cf. XI 1, 33, above).

As to *Providence*: in quo inter Stoicos et Epicuri sectam secutos pugna perpetua (unbroken from the beginning) est: *regaturne providentia mundus* (V 7, 35). Or again a "Thesis": cum providentia mundus regatur, administranda est respublica (V 10, 14; repeated § 10, 89; XII 2, 21). Ut qui mundum nasci dicit, per hoc ipsum et deficere significet, quod deficit omne quod nascitur (V 10, 79).¹² Again, one of the fundamental and incessantly quoted tenets of the school: plurimi . . . magistrum respicientes *naturam ducem sequi*¹³ desierunt (V 10, 101; VII 1, 40). In his bitter grief over his utter bereavement: nullam in terram despicere *providentiam* tester (Prooem. VI 4): non sum ambitiosus in malis: I do not desire to make a Stoic display of fortitude (ib. 7). His son's fine gifts: *etiam illa fortuita* aderant omnia (ib. 10). Again the antithesis of the two schools: an atomorum concursu mundus sit effectus? An providentia regatur? An sit aliquando casurus? (VII 2, 2). The antithesis of these schools in cosmology and theology (VII

* Diog. Laert. VII 174.

¹⁰ Propterea ἐγκύκλιοι τέχναι etiam μέσαι ab iis nominabantur, Ritter et Preller, ed. Wellman 1913, no. 522 C.

¹¹ Perhaps Chrysippus himself was meant; he wrote a treatise in four books, περὶ τῆς ρητορικῆς, Diog. Laert. VII 201.

¹² Diog. Laert. VII 141.

¹³ δμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν, Diog. Laert. VII 87.

3, 5). The size of the sun (VII 4, 1; 2, 6); number of worlds (ib.); of Cicero: dono quodam *providentiae* genitus (X 1, 108). He makes fun of the *αἰδωλα* in the Epicurean philosophy of perception (X 2, 15). Here, too, belongs the praise of Socrates, the incarnation of the ideal Sage (XI 1, 10 sqq.), and of Rutilius (ib. 12) and of the younger Cato¹⁴ (XII 7, 4). But enough: he was in his deepest convictions a Stoic, though not in any public display or visible conformity. When, near the conclusion of his great work, he inquires as to a permanent moral code for the advocate and orator, what do we see? He rapidly enumerates *all* the sects and schools, but the Stoics are outlined last and with an unmistakable modicum of appreciation.

But to proceed. Quintilian gives a systematic and very thorough exposition of the traditional elements of rhetorical τέχνη¹⁵ with very full and constant reference to those who contributed to it, even in minutiae; but much more important to the modern student, I take it, is his effort to establish or re-establish thorough study of Cicero as the exemplar of Roman oratory, and *pari passu* to carry on a running polemic against the "*causae corruptae eloquentiae*," against the decadence and decline from that standard. All this is, as we all know, a theme fairly identical with that of the *Dialogus* of young Tacitus, written, I am quite sure, under Vespasian. As to this famous and brilliant treatise,¹⁶ there have been various theories, but most of us now are agreed, I believe, as to its main contentions. The freedom of debate and discussion of the Ciceronian era, which alone made great oratory possible, had passed away, all greater issues were now determined by the *princeps*: no more was there "*splendor reorum et magnitudo causarum*." Tacitus is well satisfied with the vanishing of the evils which were symptomatic of the decline

¹⁴ Cf., on the same three Stoic saints, Seneca, *Ep. Moral.* 24.

¹⁵ L. Spengel's study, "Die Definition und Eintheilung der Rhetorik bei den Alten," *Rh. Mus.* XVIII (1863), is still unexcelled, I believe, as a historical and technical survey (pp. 481-511).

¹⁶ The amassing of erudition in Gudeman's noted edition, 1894, is known to us all and admitted, but it is somewhat excessive. Ed. Norden's suggestion to place the *Dialogus* in the post-Domitianic period of Tacitus impresses me as psychologically impossible (*Antike Kunstprosa*, I, 1898, p. 325). The data concerning Maternus are too slender to permit generalizations as sweeping and positive as those which Norden makes.

and fall of the Republic, but he knows, too, that these very evils "ingentem eloquentiae materiam subministrabant" (Dial. 37). After Actium political oratory certainly was narrowed or curbed: *maxime principis disciplina ipsam quoque eloquentiam sicut omnia alia pacaverat* (38), or: *cum de republica non imperiti et multi deliberent* (in the Senate) *sed sapientissimus et unus* (41). It is flattery but it is not sincere flattery.¹⁷

But, inasmuch as the decline and decadence of oratory was manifested in a peculiar and decisive way in and through the rhetors' schools in the capital itself, and since we possess a unique delineation of these schools in the old-age reminiscences of the Elder Seneca, it becomes impressively clear, that it was not merely the age of Nero or Domitian, but even that of Augustus and Tiberius, say from 31 B. C. to 37 A. D., in which this stunted and artificial eloquence was nourished, practiced and firmly established.¹⁸ Both matter and manner were brought into Rome by Greek professionals, who of real political oratory, as a matter of experience or observation, knew simply—nothing. Even those Greeks who taught in Rome during Cicero's boyhood, seem to have used as their chief tools the *suasoriae* and *controversiae* as we find them in Marcus Seneca. A somewhat closer vision of schools, teachers and practice will surely equip us to follow Quintilian's censure and polemic with better judgment. In Cicero's Latin elaboration of Hermagoras, even, we have a purely Greek *controversia* (II 95):

"Ne quis Dianae vitulum immolaret. Nautae quidam, cum adversa tempestate in alto iactarentur, voverunt, si eo portu, quem conspiciebant, potiti essent, ei deo, qui ibi esset, se vitulum

¹⁷ Cf. Tac. Ann. 12. While writing under Vespasian, in the *Dialogus*, Tacitus adjusted his convictions much more to his desire of advancement than later under Trajan, when freedom of speech was really secure. The sentence (Dial. 40): "*magna illa et notabilis eloquentia, alumna licentiae quam stulti libertatem vocant,*" was, I believe, written for effect with Vespasian, upon whose favor every cursus honorum depended.

¹⁸ One cannot fail to gain the conviction from the entire congeries of reminiscences (of the old man), memories interspersed and interlarded with a wealth of anecdote cropping up continually by way of association—one cannot, I say, fail to gain the conviction that Seneca depreciates the entire profession, its standards and performances, and it is really doubtful whether he was a professional himself.

immolatuŕos. Casu erat in eo portu fanum Dianae eius, cui vitulum immolari non licebat. Imprudentes legis cum exissent, vitulum immolaverunt. Accusantur." Or II 144: "Qui tyrannum occiderit, Olympionicarum praemia capito" etc., etc. Or II 87.

As for the *suasoriae* in Seneca, such were always assigned to the beginners or Freshmen under the *declamatores*; these themes dealt altogether with the *deliberativum genus*; often they were what we should call somewhat large or pompous themes for lads from fourteen to sixteen years of age, themes hackneyed for generations: "Shall Alexander stop at the Okeanos?" Both Greek and Latin Rhetors handled precisely the identical themes and naturally their professional rivalry was keen and often bitter. Homer and Virgil were brought in, or dragged in, wherever possible or half possible. Another: The Three Hundred at Thermopylae deliberate whether they shall stay or withdraw. Or: Agamemnon at Aulis: Shall I sacrifice Iphigenia? Or: Alexander at Babylon: Shall I enter? Or: Shall the Athenians remove their Persian trophies or not? Shall Cicero beg mercy of Antony? Very few *rhetores* in their class-rooms dared to insult his memory (*Suas.* VI 42). Now as to the *Controversiae*: they were meant to be concrete exercises in the *genus iudiciale*, problems before a jury, in law and litigation, on the face of them,—but they were so desperately artificial (nay impossible), that their value as genuine preparation for pleading¹⁸ in court was nil. These "cases" were so devised that the work of argumentation *pro* and *contra* was fairly equally or evenly plausible or pleadable, may I say. The "facts" were generally so builded, that, while wildly improbable in themselves, they furnished a large field for *πίθος*, while argumentation, to be telling or novel, was driven to the *ne plus ultra* often of frigid sophistry. One example must suffice: "He who apprehends an adulterer with his own faithless wife, provided he slays both, shall be guiltless." (Generally a statute leads off.) Now a gallant soldier had lost his hands in war. He comes upon an adulterer with his own wife, by whom he had had a son: he ordered the son to kill (the guilty pair). The son failed to do so. The paramour made good his escape. He (the handless man) dis-

¹⁸ Especially in the Centumviral Courts, where all testamentary litigation was had.

owns the son (I Contr. 4). This specimen is typical, and is as good or as bad as any other. The motives of the chief character for doing or not doing are balanced with the utmost nicety. These themes were handed down, perhaps from the initiative of Demetrius Phalereus (Blass, *Gr. Ber. in dem Ztalter.* etc. 1865, p. 58), for centuries, unchanged and unchangeable. Not only the pupils in the schools declaimed on them, but the *rhetores* or *declamatores* themselves delivered pleas before an imaginary jury on these *controversiae*, as a rule before the parents and friends of their pupils or other invited guests. How could genuine pleader's faculty be here revealed or developed? The really instructive part, for the students, was in the *quaestiones*; the points chosen for argumentation, points legal or purely logical, or moral, or purely psychological were elucidated by the professor—whether before or after his own declamatio, is not quite clear to us. Somewhat distinct from this were the *colores* (*χρόματα*). The declamator chose and impersonated one of the chief characters in the given *controversia*. The "color" (with which a great part of M. Seneca's reminiscences is occupied) was the general attitude or treatment, rendering as plausible and reasonable as possible the pleading determined upon in the character assumed, often in the task of justifying or glorifying the *motive* for action or non-action.²⁰ The point then that I am here urging is this: The rhetorical schools of the period of Augustus-Tiberius differed little, if at all, from the Neronian period as Petronius (I 4 Buecheler) describes them: the judgment of that keen observer could have been penned by Quintilian himself some quarter-century later. Petronius, with keen satire, seized and presented the faults and deep defects of the rhetorical schools, but also with fair condemnation. He intimates that the teachers are simply forced by their pupils to declaim upon these impossible themes, and that the *rhetores* would have empty class-rooms if they did otherwise. The fathers must share in the fault. One may take Petronius as an introduction to the reformatory design of Quintilian. Like M. Seneca, he calls teachers and pupils *scholastici*. Juvenal, in the generation *after* Quintilian, had been through the profession and was indeed quite through with it. We all know that his *satirae* were really

²⁰ Juvenal VI 280: *dic aliquem, sodes, hic, Quintiliane, colorem.*

versified *declamationes*; see especially 7, 150 sqq. To him Quintilian is the type of the supremely *lucky* rhetor, while Remmius Palaemon stands for the supremely lucky *grammaticus*. The Greeks led in the profession. Caesar and Augustus distinguished Apollodorus the rhetor; Tiberius, from his Rhodian sojourn on, similarly singled out Theodorus. Cicero always gave the strongest professional preference to Greek teachers, such as *Paionios* (ad Quintum Fratr. III 3, 4)²¹ and refers to him as an adept in "*illo declamatorio genere*." M. Seneca never seems to have asked himself, why these Greeks *could not* bring any genuine *political* eloquence to the capital. Of course they could not. Their professional primacy seems to have been universally admitted, though bitterly endured, by the Latin teachers. M. Seneca always cites them much more briefly and, as a rule, after the Latin teachers. One may fairly conclude from M. Seneca that these Greek professors competed mainly with one another, but that they at the same time set the standard for their Latin fellow-professionals. The Roman observer from the colony of Corduba expresses his preference: his special compatriots, like Latro, Gallio, Turrinus, clearly hold his warmest affection. He records with great satisfaction, when a turn by Albucius of Novara outshines or overtops the Greeks (*praeminet Graecos*, I Contr. 4, 12). Augustus himself sometimes listened to a Greek, but only in December; with him appeared Maecenas and sometimes gave a hint to a declamator to shorten his discourse (so to Latro, Contr. II 4, 13). Even Agrippa sometimes sat in an auditorium. Not one of the score or more of the Greek rhetores is assigned to Athens by Seneca, although there was a conscious display (much of it, I believe, in *delivery*) of the difference between the "Attic" and "Asianic" manner (X 5, 21). Seneca's sympathies sometimes find vent in an angry phrase, as "*insolenti Graeciae*" (I Prooem. 6). The fact is that M. Seneca of Corduba under Augustus-Tiberius was a Ciceronian of deep conviction, just as was Quintilian of Calagurris under the Flavian dynasty: "*quicquid Romana facundia habet, quod insolenti Graeciae aut opponat aut praeferat, circa Ciceronem effloruit; omnia ingenia quae lucem studiis nostris attulerunt, tum nata sunt.*" Then came the decadence: nihil

²¹ Cf. E. G. S. ΘΕΤΙΚΟΤΕΡΟΝ, *Am. J. Ph.* 1902, pp. 282 sqq.

enim tam mortiferum ingeniis quam luxuria est; then Seneca, in a somewhat veiled and impersonal way, comes upon the *delatores*, who could be no other than those of Tiberius' later years: sive, cum praemium pulcherrimae rei cecidisset, translatum est omne certamen *ad turpia multo honore quaestusque vigentia* (cf. Tac. Ann. IV 30). Even Pollio, the proudest orator of the Augustan period, sometimes appeared in the school-rooms and not merely as a condescending patron and critic: once he listened to his grandson declaiming, and after a detailed criticism of his own, declaimed in the negative himself (IV Praef. 3).

But Seneca, too, puts his finger on the very genetic point of what to him and Quintilian, too, was *corrupta eloquentia*: *Memini Oscum cum loqueretur de hoc genere sententiarum, quo infecta iam erant adolescentulorum ingenia, queri de Publilio (Syro), quasi ille iam hanc insaniam introduxisset* (VII 3, 8). These pithy, pointed, pregnant passages were the *sine qua non*, by which the professors gained or maintained their professional standing. These *sententiae* were quoted about the capital (circumferebantur); they were considered gems with which speeches or history could be adorned. I have no space to illustrate the matter at length. Collections of a rhetor's *sententiae* were published, as Latro's (II 3, 18). From such Ovid cribbed heavily (II 2, 8). There were chronic animosities about these things. Language and literature (as between the *recitationes* of the aristocracy and the *declamationes* in the schools) were really running to seed. Of course, the wonderful Lucius Seneca did not introduce nor originate the *sententia*, though he was no doubt the incomparable exemplar of it, and dwelled apart. We may assume that Quintilian's insistence on the study of Cicero was rather limited to his own class-room; he, and he alone, could afford to defy the prevailing mode. Now his *Institutio*, in its wide sweep and comprehensive survey of the work of some five centuries, may fairly be called a *συναγωγή τεχνῶν*. Need I say that in him (as in all his class) there was a bilingual consciousness? So in terminology. The historical survey in every school-room had to begin with the types exemplified by Nestor, Menelaus, Odysseus,²² including Pericles, and down to Demos-

²² Cf. Pliny, Epp. I 20.

thenes *de Corona*. We marvel how Porcius Latro fared here: "Graecos enim et contemnebat et ignorabat" (X 4, 21). It is noticeable that Quintilian, while freely admitting the practical superiority and the originality of Greek *termini technici*, endeavors where possible to append Latin equivalents. I have gathered from his practice very many instances: there is space here for a few only: *vocalitas*, *εὐφωνία* (I 5, 4); *accentus*, *προσῳδία* (I 5, 22); *oïaia*, *essentia* (III 6, 23); *illa sequentia*, *παρεπόμενα* (V 10, 75); *ex circumstantia*, *quia περίστασιν* aliter dicere non possumus (V 10, 104); *ἥθος* he tries to latinize or define as "*morum quaedam proprietas*" (VI 2, 9). He refers to Latin authors of *artes* who thus evidently strove to emancipate Latin schools from Greek domination, authors of his own time to whom he never refers by name, but only as *quidam* or *nonnulli*. My impression is that he cited these Latin equivalents in a tentative way, but not as his own. He never even tries to latinize *grammaticē* or *rhetoricē* or *dialecticē*; nor *tropos*, as a rule. Clearly the Greek terms were the current tool of the *scholasticus*, whether Greek or Roman.

As for Quintilian's personal and professional erudition, it was large and sweeping, larger than that of his Greek fellow-teachers, who could afford to ignore the Latin side. Quintilian was, we must not forget it, the visible and envied head of a great profession. Now in this fusion of personal erudition and culture with the technical postulates of his profession, Quintilian neither sought any display of learning nor did he affect an independence or indifference to the same, which would have been both impossible and absurd. Indeed, he strives to guide the present and to instruct the future teachers of eloquence, and this, too, while he himself classifies himself as a "*declamator*" (IX 2, 83). We are all familiar with the comparative survey of the ten classes of letters (X 1). Fully equipped with all the lore of the *grammaticus*, the rhetor, with his study of, and incessant perfecting of himself in, *argumentatio*, had to traverse a very positive amount of philosophy, often beginning with Cicero's famous introductory and hortatory discourse, the *Hortensius*. Incidentally, Quintilian cites the Pythagorean Archytas (I 10, 17); Pericles and the Eclipse (I 10, 47); Plato's range of culture (I 12, 15); the *γραφὴ παρανόμων* at Athens (II 4, 33); the average *rhetor* is not familiar enough with Plato's *Gorgias* (II

15, 24); a point of general agreement between Stoics and Peripatetics (II 17, 2). Quintilian is thoroughly familiar with Aristotle's Rhetoric, he cites also the Stagirites' Dialogue *Gryllos* with an "*ut solet*" (II 17, 14). In all of book III, especially in the discussion of *Status* (*στάσις*) he drew heavily on Hermagoras directly. The ten Aristotelian categories are presented entirely (III 6, 23). Now the Greek rhetor, as I said before, could complacently and successfully ignore the Latin side, but the Roman rhetor, to be first-class, had to make fairly *all* the Greek range a professional achievement, and be prepared to teach it. As for Quintilian's survey in X 1, I cannot share the traditional enthusiasm of classicists: it is all to make *φράσις*, or *copia verborum*, for the orator, a rather narrow mould to hold great letters in. Archilochus, e. g., furnishes *breves vibrantesque sententiae* (X 1, 60), so does Pindar. His critique of Seneca is familiar; I have no sympathy with it. I mean, of course, the prose works of the mature Seneca, not the declamatory monologues in the so-called tragedies of his youth. As for imitating a Seneca! Of course, the step from imitation (would-be imitation) to mannerism is a short and sure one. Oratory, nay the production of all letters, was turned into a show (whether in *schola* or *forum* or in a *recitatio*) and the hyper-emotional effects of the conclusions were quasi-operatic, or quite histrionic (cf. Plin. Epp. II 14, with the paid *clagues*): "*sententiosis flendum erit*"? (XI 1, 52); "*rasas fauces ac latus fatigatum deformi cantico reficere* (XI 3, 13); *vitium . . . quo nunc maxime laboratur in causis omnibus scholisque, cantandi* (XI 3, 57). He makes the Greeks responsible for some related abuses (XI 3, 103).²² The schools have emasculated genuine eloquence: they desire to furnish *pleasure* merely (V 12, 17 sqq.). The *declamationes*, which should be like the drill with buttoned foils for preparing for actual battles (in the courts), remind Quintilian of the effeminate beauty of young slaves castrated by the dealers with commercial design. Now the *sententia* has indeed its proper place and function: "*dum rem contineant et copia non redundant et ad victoriam spectent, quis utile neget*?

²² I append the more important references dealing with the *sententiae* and other excrescences which he combats: I 8, 9; II 4, 31; 11, 3; 12, 7 sqq.; IV 1, 53; 3, 2-3; V 2, 17; 12, 31; 13, 37; VI 4, 6; VII 1, 14; 1, 44; VIII 5 (the entire chapter); XI 1, 52; XII 9, 3; 10, 48.

Feriant animum et uno ictu impellunt et ipsa brevitate magis haerent et delectatione persuadent (XII 10, 48): admirably put certainly. Quintilian himself penned some admirable ones, of which I have made a collection; here I must be content to transcribe but a few: "ut operum fastigia spectantur, latent fundamenta (Prooem. I 4); frequens imitatio transit in mores (I 11, 3); quid aliud agimus docendo eos quam ne docendi semper sint? (II 5, 13); and the famous one familiar to scholars everywhere: ex quo mihi inter virtutes grammatici habebitur, aliqua nescire (I 8, 21); *ambitiosum gloriandi genus est etiam deridere* (XI 1, 22); a dictum of keenest psychological penetration, which, coupled with great moral earnestness, constitutes one of the salient characteristics of Quintilian's personality: nemo nisi sua culpa diu dolet (Prooem. VI 13). On the *will* in study: studium discendi *voluntate*, quae cogi non potest, constat (I 3, 8). He knows how sovereign are the *emotions* in the pleader's profession, and he also analyzes with consummate penetration the real sway of them, viz., the faculty of making remote soul-contents present and real by the creation of mental images of the same (VI 2, 3). As a masterful psychologist, Quintilian was indeed independent of (however familiar with) manuals²⁴ and systems. And he was also an expert pleader: You must not overload the juror with an excess of argumentation; you will weary him and impair your credit with him (V 12, 8); the task of the defender (*patronus*) is vastly more difficult than that of the *accusator* (VII 2, 35-36); *patronus neget, defendat, transferat*,²⁵ *excuset, deprecetur, molliat, minuat, avertat, despiciat, derideat* (V 13, 2). What line to choose before the emperor, what before a jury (ib. 6-7). Indeed it is the court and the soundness of the pleader's professional conduct — not merely his preparation — which Quintilian has in mind, what kind of man the actual advocate should be, his service in court, faults there which Quintilian passes on in detail and severely, a rigid review and censure which no mere *declamator* of that time in the capital would have been competent to make, nay which he would not have dared to publish, for it is the practical results of the schools which Quintilian

²⁴ Quae quidem non aliquo tradente, sed *experimento meo ac natura ipsa* (this again in the Stoic vein) duce accipi VI 2, 25.

²⁵ The status *translationis* in Hermagoras.

condemns, and not merely *obiter* (in XII 8) ; he also deals with the fee-system then prevailing ²⁶ (XII 7, 3).

It is indeed a remarkable work, this *Institutio*, attending the orator from the cradle to forum and Senate: but there remains one question, a very incisive question: Was the critical and combative purpose stronger in his mind, or was it the constructive design of the whole? This is one of the *imponderabilia* of historical research. No comfortable and impressive summarization is quite safe here. "Non enim doceo, sed admoneo docturos" (I 4, 17). The detailed notes on language and grammar in book I are merely reminders to the current grammatici to deepen their scholarship: grammaticos officii sui commonemus (I 5, 7). His general aim is not merely to condense or repeat manuals and monographs, nor to add a new *ars* to the vast total of *artes* extant, but to train the future orator by having him pattern after the great exemplars of eloquence, by concrete study of their texts. He has before his mind *the ideal orator*: noster orator II 17, 23; the consummatus orator II 19, 1. After all, great eloquence preceded the theories thereof (V 10, 120). Beware of relying on technical books! He knows the Apollodoreans, the Theodoreans, the Hermagoreans; he is familiar with manuals and monographs, such as those of Celsus, Cornificius, the older Gallio, Laenas, Virginius, the elder Pliny, Tutilius; but: "neque me cuiusquam sectae (clearly they all had followers) velut quadam superstitione imbutus addixi" (III 1, 22); contemporary specialists, as I suggested before, must be content with being referred to as *quidam*, *alii*, *nonnulli*, sometimes *plerique*; or *putant*, or, in dissent, *illi subtiles magistri* (XII 10, 51).

Shall we call his most cherished ideal Ciceronianism? I should not like to put it in so simple and convenient a term. Personally, he did not essay the graces of symmetrical periods. He sought no mere rehabilitation of a manner. Brutus, Calvus, Pollio, had abandoned Cicero's leadership in the latter stage of the Arpinate's career. The *scholastici* of the elder Seneca's time seem to have cared little for Cicero any more. But the teacher from Calagurris was indeed an expert in Cicero; he

²⁶ Add I 12, 18, *stips advocacionum*. For other data revealing Quintilian as a pleader, cf. V (the entire book), VII 1, 63; VII 4, 11; VI 2, 5; VII 4, 11; XII 5, 5-6.

certainly owed the best he was and his very essence as a leading, as *the* leading, teacher of oratory in Rome, to this being imbued with Cicero, not only with the orations, but the theoretical treatises as well, from the half-finished *ars* of Cicero's early years, to the *Topica*, near the sunset of his career. As for the speeches, Quintilian made most didactic use of the Cluentiana, Ligariana, Miloniana, the Verrines; in a second class we may put the Corneliana (lost), the pro Caelio, the pro Murena, the pro Oppio (lost), the Philippics, the pro Vareno (lost). In his own vernal or germinative period, in his first sojourn at Rome, Quintilian was acquainted with the eminent Ciceronian scholar Asconius Pedianus (I 7, 24). Quintilian's great exemplar during that earlier residence at Rome, never a preceptor (for D. A. was a senator of praetorian rank in 26 A. D., before Quintilian was born, v. Tac. Ann. IV 52), *Domitius Afer* of Nemausus in the Narbonensis, must have been a Ciceronian, otherwise he would not have made the impression on Quintilian which he actually did. And I hold it more than probable, that those who studied oratory then in Spain, Gaul, Africa, not obsessed as they were by the morbid competition of the *scholastici* of the capital, sought their models and authority in the great Roman orators of the Ciceronian era. Quintilian had examined autographic data or readings in Ciceronian and Virgilian mss. in Rome (e. g. we may assume in the Palatine library: quo modo et ipsum et Vergilium scripsisse *manus eorum* docent (I 7, 20). Caesar is often referred to, without any genuine citation, however, from his works; Pollio's four orations are cited a few times; of Corvinus Messala, a single speech; of Caelius or Curio, nothing material. These, with Cicero at their head, were the *antiqui* of Quintilian and of Tacitus' Dialogus. Quintilian's grasp of their individual characters was evidently keen but they were merely satellites around the ruling sun. Of course, imitation *per se* is already a form of decline: "nunquam par fit imitator auctori" says the elder Seneca. The Dialogus of Tacitus may fairly be conceived as Quintilian *en miniature*, as every careful student of both has felt. There was then a current distaste for Cicero: ille "durus et ineruditus, at nos melius (than Cicero) quibus sordet omne quod natura dictavit qui non ornamenta quaerimus, sed *lenocinia* (VIII Pro. 26). The *recitationes* among the *lauti*, and the long established practice

of the *scholastici* had done their work for more than a century; a genuine return to classic standards such as Quintilian wrought for so earnestly, was probably never attained. The younger Pliny's letters we know: hardly one without some quotable *sententia*, and as for the last great classic among Roman prose writers, Tacitus himself, what do we see? Are not those brilliantly epigrammatic dicta, whether in the inserted oratory of his historical characters, or as they betoken the profundity of his almost uncanny psychological divination, are they not to all of us a veritable *κτῆμα ἐς αἰί*?

As for the deep antipathy of Quintilian for L. Seneca of Corduba, there is one citation chosen by Quintilian concerning which I cannot shake off the impression that it was made with design; it was taken from that awful performance of Nero's teacher and guide when the latter prostituted his rare *ingenium* to furnish a "*color*" for the recent act of the matricide in the villa of the dowager at Bauli: "*qualis est Senecae in eo scripto quod Nero ad senatum misit occisa matre, cum se periclitatum videri vellet: "Salvum me esse adhuc nec credo nec gaudeo"*" (Quintilian VIII 5, 18). It is the only literal citation from that author, and it is an indictment in itself.

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II.—NAMES OF STINGING, GNAWING, AND RENDING ANIMALS.

PART I.

Did the IE. mother-tongue utter certain vocables which henceforth became the sacrosanct names of various objects and phenomena? Such at least seems to be the childishly naive theory that underlies the attempts of many etymologists to combine synonymous words wherever their ingenuity can devise a way. No one advocates this theory, it is true. But what other possible reason can there be for making such preposterous combinations as are found under Lat. *anguis*, *formica*, *lens* 'nit,' *pulex*, *talpa*, etc?

As to the ultimate origin of the words here discussed I am not concerned. But it is a fact, and not a theory, that whenever a word standing for the name of anything can really be explained, it will be found to be a descriptive term. As long as a word has the same meaning in all languages it remains unexplained except in its phonetic changes. But any word as such is explained if its meaning is transparent or is made clear. For example, the word *crook*, used of a dishonest person, is self-explanatory and needs no further elucidation. But *hand*, *foot*, *horse*, *fish*, *bear* are not explained until we know the antecedent descriptive term.

It is just because the names of various objects in nature: trees, plants, animals, minerals, were primarily descriptive terms that we find so many words for the same object. For the idea is the real word, not the particular vocable that may be used at any time or place to express it. Our search should therefore be for this underlying idea.

In the following article I have considered mainly insects, worms, and larger animals that are described as stinging, biting, boring, gnawing, rending. Transparent compounds like *stechfliege*, *gadfly* are omitted, as also are words for bee, wasp, hornet not described as 'stingers.'

1. Skt. *ālīh*, *ālī* 'bee': *ādrā* 'awl,' OHG. *āla* 'Ahle, Pfriem,' *alansa* id., ON. *āl* 'awl': *ālr* 'eel' (named from its shape), OE. *āel*, OHG. *āl* 'eel.' Fick III⁴, 26.

2. Gr. δέλλιθες · σφήκες, ἡ ζῶον ὁμοιον μέλισση Hes.: βελόνη 'arrow-head, point, needle: a kind of fish,' Lith. *gelonis* 'sting (of a bee or wasp),' *gėlti* 'sting, smart.' J. Schmidt KZ. 32, 323.

3. NPers. *eng-* 'bee' (Horn 124): OE. *anga* 'prickle, sting, goad,' *angel* 'fish-hook,' ON. *ange* 'Spitze, Zacke,' NIce. *angi* 'small twig, sprout,' OHG. *ango*, *angul* 'Stachel, Spitze, Fischangel,' NHG. Alem. *angel* 'Bienenstachel,' *angelmuck* 'Stachelmücke,' base **enegh-* in Gr. ἔγχος 'spear, lance,' ἔγχελυς 'eel,' Lat. *anguilla* id., *angulus* 'corner, point,' Skt. *āghnyāḥ* (cornutus) 'steer,' *āghnyā* 'cow': *āṅgriḥ* 'foot,' Lat. *unguis*, *ungula*, Gr. ὄνυξ 'nail, claw,' Ir. *inga* 'nail,' OHG. *nagal* id., etc. Compare **eng-* in Skt. *āgram* 'point, tip, peak,' *āṅgūlīḥ* 'digitus, finger, toe,' etc.

4. Gr. ἀνθρήνη, ἀνθρηδών 'a wild bee' and τενθρήνη, τενθρηδών 'wasp' are supposed to be derivatives of a base **dhren-* 'hum, drone' in θρώναξ · κηφήν, OE. *drān* 'drone,' OS. *drāno*, OHG. *treno* id., etc. This is, of course, possible. For the bee is sometimes designated as 'the hummer, buzzer,' as in Gr. πεμφρηδών 'a kind of wasp,' Skt. *bambharāḥ* 'bee': *bhrāmati* 'whirl, whirl,' *bhramarāḥ* 'bee,' OHG. *bremo* 'gadfly,' *bremān* 'buzz, grumble,' etc. But ἀνθρηδών may be referred to ἀθήρ 'beard or spike of corn, ear; point or barb of a weapon,' ἀνθέριξ 'beard on grain, ear; stalk.' Similarly τενθρηδών may be derived from τένω, τένω 'gnaw, nibble,' Lat. *tondeo*.

5. Gr. ἐμπίς 'mosquito, gnat,' OHG. *imbi* 'swarm of bees,' **empiós*, a collective noun, root **emp-* 'stick, thrust.' Compare Germ. *imp-* perhaps from **impp-*, in OE. *impa* 'shoot, graft,' *impian* 'graft; refl. be engaged in,' OHG. *impfōn* 'impfen, pfropfen,' *impfitōn*, *impfitōn* id.

6. Gr. δάρδα · μέλισσα Hes. is compared by Berneker I, 254 with Bulg. *dǔrdǔrǔ* 'plaudere, schwatze; murre, brumme,' etc., which is quite possible. But it may equally well be referred to Czech *drdati* 'rupfen, abrufen,' *drdy* 'Reissen'; OE. *teart* 'sharp, severe' (pain), NE. *tart* 'sharp to the taste; sharp, cutting' (language), dial. *teart* 'painful': Gr. δέρω, etc.

7. OHG. *bīa*, *bīan*, *bīni* 'Biene,' OE. *bēo* (**bīwan-*) 'bee,' etc.; Ir. *bech* (**bhiqo-*) 'bee,' OBulg. *bīčela* id.; Lith. *bitis*

'bee': root *bhei- *bhi- 'cut, bite' in OBulg. *bīti* 'schlagen,' iter. *u-bivati, u-bijati*, Ir. *benim* (*bhindāmi) 'schneide, schlage,' OHG. *bihal* 'Beil' (*bhiglo- : *bičela*), OBulg. *bičt* 'Geissel,' OE. *bill* 'sword' (*bhitlo- or *bhilno-), *bīle* 'bill, beak,' *bītan* 'bite,' *bītel* 'beetle.'

8. But Lat. *fūcus* 'drone,' Russ. *búčeni* 'bumblebee, Hummel,' OBulg. *bučela* 'bee': Russ. *bučát* 'buzz, hum (of bees)' are semantically entirely different. Perhaps here belongs OE. *bēaw* 'gadfly,' Germ. **bauwa-* from **bhouqwo-*.

9. Lat. *apis* 'bee' may be an Oscan or Umbrian loanword from an original **aḱuis* 'sharp, stinging': Lat. *aqui-* 'sharp, pointed' in *aquifolius* 'having pointed leaves: ilex, holly,' *acus* 'needle; a kind of fish.'

Or *apis* 'bee' and *apex* 'point, tip' may come from a base **api-* 'sharp point, tip,' which may be in OE. *efete* 'newt,' pre-Germ. **apidon* (or **abh-, obh-*). With **ap-, op-* 'sharp, pointed' compare **ab-* in Lat. *abies* 'fir,' Gr. ἄβιν·ἐλάτην, οἱ δὲ πεύκην Hes. (cf. Walde², 4), to which add Gr. ἄβεις·ἔχεις Hes.

10. Lat. *crābro* 'hornet' from **k̑rsrō*, Lith. *szirszū, szirszlys* 'wasp,' *szirszonė* 'hornet,' OBulg. *sriša* 'wasp,' *srišeni* 'hornet, gadfly,' Du. *horzel* 'hornet,' OE. *hyrnet*, OHG. *hornaz* id., etc., base **k̑eras-* 'point, sting': Skt. *śirah* 'Spitze, Kopf,' with which compare *śirīṣaḥ* (thorn) 'acacia sirissa,' Gr. *κέρας* 'horn,' *κεράσσης* 'horned: a horned serpent; an insect which destroys figs,' etc. Cf. Walde², 197 with lit.

11. Gr. *σφήξ*, Dor. *σφᾶξ* 'wasp,' *σφηκός* 'wasp-like,' *σφηκόω* 'bind in (like a wasp),' *σφηκείον* 'a venomous spider,' *σφηκίας*, *σφηκίσκος* 'a pointed stick or stake.' These indicate a Gr. base *σφᾶκ-*, probably IE. **sphāq-*, denoting something sharp or pointed, and fall in line with many other IE. bases **sphaz-*, *sphex-*, *sphix-* with similar meaning.

12. Serb.-ChSl. *čapi* 'bee': Bulg. *čapvam* 'picke,' Slov. *čapati* 'schnappen,' Czech *čapati* 'schnipsen, ergreifen,' Serb.-Cr. *čapati* 'an sich reissen,' *čapak* 'Klaue, Krallen,' Lett. *k'ēpa* 'Tatze, Bärenatze,' *k'ēpt* 'mit den Klauen anpacken, haften,' *k'ēpēt* 'schröpfen,' *kapāt* 'hacken, hauen,' *refl.* 'sich umherreissen, sich zanken; sich abmühen, abarbeiten,' Lith. *kapóti* 'kleinhauen, -packen,' *kėpszterėti* 'einmal leicht zuhauen oder

zuschlagen,' OBulg. *kopije* 'Lanze, Schwert,' Russ. *kopijo* 'Lanze, Spiess,' Gr. κόπτω 'strike, hit, cut, chop, cut small, hack; peck, strike with the beak, perforate (of birds), eat (of insects); tire, weary,' κοπίς 'chopper, cleaver, curved knife; the sting of a scorpion,' κάπτω 'snap at, eat greedily,' Lat. *capio*, *cēpi* 'seize, take,' Goth. *hafts* 'behaftet mit,' *haftjan* 'sich heften' (but not *hafjan* 'heben'), MDu. *happen* 'apprehendere, arripere, corripere, celeriter rapere, prendere, capere' (Kil.), EFris. *happen* 'schnappen, beissen, essen,' etc. (cf. Koolman Ostfr. Wb. s. v.), Hess. *habe* 'Granne; Fischgräte,' *hebe*, *hiebe* 'Granne; Dorn.'

13. OE. *wæfs*, *wæsp* 'wasp,' OHG. *wafsa*, *wefsa*, Lat. *vespa*, OPruss. *vobse* id., Lith. *vapsa* 'gadfly,' IE. **uopsa*, Lith. *vābalas* 'Käfer, beetle,' root **ueb-* 'cut, stick': Goth. *wēpn* 'weapon,' OE. *wæpen* id., etc. Compare **uēp-* in Skt. *vápati* 'schert, grast ab.'

14. Skt. *sūctīkaḥ* 'a stinging insect': *sūct* 'needle, sharp point'; *sūctimukhaḥ* 'a kind of bird or insect': *sūctimukham* 'needlepoint.'

15. Skt. *sarāgh-*, *sarāghā*, *sarat* 'bee' may be derived from a root **serē* 'sharp' in the following: Skt. *srñīḥ* 'sickle,' *srñīḥ* 'elephant-goat,' Lat. *sario* 'hoe,' *serra* 'saw,' *sarpo*, *sarpio* 'trim, prune,' Gr. ἄσπη 'sickle; elephant-goat; a bird of prey,' OBulg. *srüpu*, Lett. *sirpe* 'sickle,' OHG. *sarf*, *sarpf* 'scharf, rauh, acer, asper, scaber, acerbus, austerus, severus, wild, grausam, saevus, dirus' (cf. Schade Ahd. Wb. 744; Walde², 679). Compare also Dor. *ῥανίς*, Att. *ῥαφίς* (**srpid-*) 'needle, pin,' *ῥάπτω* 'stitch, stitch together, sew: link together, unite; devise, contrive, plot.' Here also probably Lat. *sero* join or bind together, interweave, plait; arrange, contrive, primarily 'stitch, stitch together.'

To the same root may belong Lith. *srėda* 'Spahn'; *sroklys* 'die Pinne oder Nadel an der Schnalle,' Skt. *srkākḥ* 'lance,' *sraktiḥ* 'point, corner'; Lith. *sragus* (scharf) 'grimmig, grausam,' Goth. *saurga* (acerbitas) 'Sorge, Kummer,' OHG. *sorga*, *sworga* id. (with *w* from *swārī* 'Schwere, Gewicht; Schmerz, Kummer'), Lat. *frāgrāre* (**srghrā-* or **srāghrā-* 'sharpness, pungency') 'smell; reek' (but not *frāgum* 'strawberry'), Gr. *ῥάχis* (**sraghis*) 'spine, backbone, back, ridge of a mountain;

sharp projection on the shoulder-blade,' *ῥαχός*, Ion. *ῥηχός* 'thorn-bush, briar; thorn-stick; thorn-hedge; wild-olive tree': Skt. *sarāgh-* 'bee.' For this combination of meanings compare Lat. *mordēre* 'bite; nip, sting (of cold or heat); sting, grieve,' NE. *smart*, NHG. *schmerzen*, Lett. *smirdēt* 'riecken; stinken,' etc. (cf. author Pub. MLA. XIV [1899] 320; Fick III⁴, 527).

16. Skt. *daçaḥ* 'bite: gadfly,' *dācati* 'bite,' Gr. *δάκνω* 'bite, sting, esp. of dogs and gnats,' *δάκος* 'bite, sting: an animal of which the bite or sting is dangerous, a snake, any noxious animal, esp. a beast of prey,' *δάκερον* 'a stinging, poisonous animal.'

17. Skt. *mākṣaḥ* 'fly,' *mākṣikā* 'fly, bee,' Av. *maxši-* 'fly, gnat'; Skt. *mākuliḥ* 'a kind of snake,' *mākaraḥ* 'a sea-monster; a certain insect,' *makṣ-rukaḥ* 'a parasitic worm' (for *-rukaḥ* see No. 50), ChSl. *mečika* 'Bär, Bärin': OBulg. *mečī* 'sword'; Gr. *μάκελλα*, *μακέλη* 'spade, mattock'; Goth. *mēkeis* 'sword,' Lat. *mactō* 'cut, slay.'

18. Skt. *maçākaḥ* 'stinging fly, gnat,' Lith. *maszalai* 'gnats or flies; vermin': Russ. *mosolit'* 'torment, tease, plagen, zudringlich anbetteln' (Uhlenbeck Ai. Wb. 219), Lith. *maszótī* ' (ein Kind) zergen.'

19. Skt. *yūkā*, *yūkāḥ* 'louse': OHG. *jucchen*, MHG. *jucken*, *jücken*, OE. *gyccan* 'itch,' etc.: Skt. *yavāṣaḥ*, *yēvāṣaḥ* (**je-ix-*) 'ein schädliches kleines Tier.'

20. Gr. *μύια* 'fly, stinging fly, gadfly, carrion-fly,' *μύων* 'gadfly; spur, goad; stimulant,' *μυωνίζω* 'spur, prick with the spur,' Lat. *musca* 'fly,' OBulg. *mucha* id., *mušica* 'gnat,' Swed. dial. *mausa* id. (**mūsa*); ON. *mý* 'gnat' (**mūja-*); OE. *mycg* 'midge,' OS. *muggia* 'gnat,' OHG. *mucka* 'Mücke, Fliege' (**muggjō-*) etc. These are supposed to come from a root **mū-* 'murmur, mumble.' It is altogether more probable that the underlying meaning is 'sharp point, sting.' Compare this meaning in Lat. *mūrex* (**mūsaks*) 'the purple-fish,' evidently named from its projecting spines, as evidenced by the other meanings of the word: 'a pointed rock or stone; a spike of iron; a caltrop with sharp points in every direction; a sharp bridle-bit.' This is certainly closely related to Gr. *μύων* 'gadfly; spur, goad.' Similarly ON. *mý* 'gnat' may be referred to *má* (**mawēn*) 'wear away, scrape off'; and OHG. *mucka* 'Mücke,'

etc. to Gr. ἀμύσσω 'tear, scratch, esp. of any slight surface wound: prick as a thorn, sting as a fly,' ἀμυκαλαί·αἱ ἀκίδες τῶν βελῶν παρὰ τὸ ἀμύσσειν Hes., Lat. *micra* 'a sharp point or edge, sword.' Gr. μύωψ, like κώνωψ, κόρνωψ, etc. would properly mean 'sharp-mouth,' just as ὀξύστομος is used of the gad-fly.

21. Gr. δάπτει 'blood-sucking insects': δάπτῃς 'eater, gnawer,' δάπτω 'tear, rend, devour.' Cf. No. 177.

22. Gr. κεντρίνης 'a kind of beetle or wasp; a prickly kind of shark,' κεντρίζω 'prick, goad,' κεντρίς, κέντρον 'prickle, sting, goad,' κεντέω 'prick, goad, wound,' etc., with which compare Corn. *contronem* 'cimex,' Bret. *controunenn* 'ver de viande,' Welsh *cynrhonyn* 'termes, lendix.'

23. Gr. κώνωψ 'gnat': κώνος 'cone,' Skt. *ḥanah* 'hone,' ḥi-ḥāti 'sharpen.' Given doubtfully in Prellwitz², 255; disregarded by Boisacq. Cf. No. 30.

24. Gr. κόρις 'bed-bug': κείρω 'cut, consume' (Lidén Arm. St. 83): κόρνωψ 'a kind of locust,' κορνῶπιδες·κῶνωπες Hes.: Skt. *kṛnāḥ* 'wounded,' *kṛnāti* 'wound, kill,' ChSl. *krŭnŭ* 'maimed,' LRuss. *korŭáty* 'stechen, schlagen, hauen.' Cf. Berneker I, 669.

25. Att. πάρνωψ, Boeot., Lesb. πόρνωψ 'a kind of locust; a wasp,' πάρνωψ·ἀκρίδος εἶδος, οἱ δὲ μελίσσας ἀγρίας Suid.: περόνη 'anything pointed for piercing or pinning,' περονάω 'pierce, pin,' πείρω 'pierce.'

26. Lett. *lapsene* 'Erdbiene, Wespe'; Lat. *lapit* 'dolore afficit,' Czech *lopot* 'Kummer, Sorge,' *lapotati* 'sich abquälen,' Gr. λέπω 'peel.'

27. OE. *loppe* 'flea,' *loppestre* 'lobster; locust,' Swed. *loppa* 'flea': EFris. *lūbben* 'schinden, schädigen; verschneiden,' MDu., MLG. *lubben* 'castrate'; Norw. dial. *loypa* 'abrinden' *laupa* intr. 'peel off,' pre-Germ. base **leup-*, -b- 'strip, peel,' Lett. *lubīt* 'spleissen,' Russ. *lubŭ* 'Borke, Bast,' etc.; Lett. *lupt*, Lith. *lūpti* 'abhäuten, schälen,' Russ. *lupit'* 'schälen, abschälen,' Czech *loupiti* 'schälen, abrinden, abhäuten; rauben, plündern': LRuss. *lupiz* 'Eichelmaus, garden squirrel,' Skt. *lōpācāḥ* 'jackal, fox,' etc. Cf. No. 160.

28. Ir. *dergnat* 'flea': OE. *dreccan* 'trouble, annoy, torment,' ChSl. *raz-drazati* 'reizen,' Skt. *drāghatā* 'plagt, quält.'

Or compare OE. *tergan* 'irritate, annoy,' Bulg. *drǫgnǔ se* 'reibe mich, jucke mich, werde krätzig,' LRuss. *derhaty* 'raufen, hecheln,' etc.

29. Lat. *culex* 'gnat,' OIr. *cuil* 'culex,' Welsh *cylion-en* 'culex, musca'; Skt. *çūla-h*, -*m*, *çūlā* 'spear, dart, spit; stinging pain,' etc. Lidén, Arm. St. 78 ff.

30. Lat. *cimex* 'bedbug': OHG. *heimo* 'Heimchen,' OE. *hāma* 'cricket,' base **kīm-*, *kaim-* 'sharp, pointed': ON. *hein* 'hone,' OE. *hān* 'stone, rock,' Av. *saeniš* 'Spitze, Wipfel,' Skt. *çicāti*, *çyāti* 'whet, sharpen.' Cf. Nos. 23, 62, 110.

31. Lat. *pūlex* 'flea': Lith. *piáuti* 'cut, bite,' *piúklas* 'saw,' Lat. *pavire*, *putāre*, etc.

32. Gr. *ψύλλα*, *ψύλλος* 'flea,' **psul-* **bhsul-*, Pol. *pchła* (**psul-*) 'flea,' ChSl. *blŭcha*, Lith. *blusa* id. (**bhlus-*) Afghan *vraža* id. (Iran. **brušā*). Cf. Boisacq 1078 with lit.

These words represent the base **bhsul-* and, by metathesis, **bhlus-* or vice versa. Or they may be two distinct groups of words that have been crossed. The base **bhsul-* may be derived from **bhsu-* 'rub, irritate' in Gr. *ψάω* 'touch, handle,' from **bhesē-*, -*ā* in Skt. *bābhasti* 'crush, devour,' *bhasalah* 'bee,' *psāti* 'consume,' Gr. *ψήν* 'gall-insect; an insect injurious to the vine,' *ψήν* 'rub away, wipe,' *ψαίρω* 'graze, touch,' *ψώρα* 'itch, scab,' in late writers also 'a moth,' *ψόχω* 'rub to pieces, grind,' *ψήχω* 'rub down, curry,' *ψαθρός* 'friable, crumbling,' *σάβραξ* 'louse' (No. 76), etc.

33. ChSl. *blŭcha* etc. may be from an original **bhlusā* 'a biting, irritating insect,' from a base **bhleu-* : **bhleī-* : **bhle-* : OHG. *bliuwan* 'beat,' Goth. *bliggwan* *δέρειν*, *μαστιγοῦν*, *κατακόπτειν*; Serb. *bluzna* 'scar,' WhRuss. *bluzná* 'a flaw in weaving,' Lett. *blaugfna*, pl. *blausfnas* 'scab, scurf; the outer coat of grain, bran'; Aeol. Ion. *φλίβω* 'crush, press' (**bhlīgūō*), Lat. *fligo* 'strike,' Lett. *blaiŭt* 'quetschen, schmettern, schlagen,' Russ. *blizná* 'flaw in weaving,' LRuss. *blýzná* 'scar, wound,' Czech, Pol. *blizna* 'scar,' etc. (cf. Berneker EW. 61); ON. *blaka*, *blakra* 'flap, beat,' Lat. *flagrum* 'scourge,' Ir. *blog* 'piece, fragment.'

34. Alb. *přešt* (**pleust-*) 'flea,' Arm. *lu* id., Skt. *plúsiḥ* 'a noxious insect' (cf. Brugmann Grdr. I², 510): Icel. *flosa*

'scale,' *flos* 'shag, nap,' *flosna* 'become frayed, ravel out,' *flysja* 'cut in slices; peel or scale off,' OE. *flēos*, *flies* 'fleece,' MHG. *vlies*, *vlius* id., root **plēu-* *pelē-u-* 'strip, peel off'; OBulg. *plěvq*, *plěti* 'jäten,' Russ. *plěvá*, *plěná* 'Häutchen, film,' Lith. *plėvė*, *plėnė* id., OBulg. *plěva* 'Spreu, chaff,' Skt. *palāvah* 'chaff, hull,' etc.

35. ON. *fló* 'flea,' OE. *flēah*, OHG. *flōh*, etc., Germ. stem **flauha-*, pre-Germ. **plou-ko-* or *-go-*: Lith. *plauszai* 'thin inner bark, bast,' *plūszai* 'Bastfasern,' *plūszis*, *plūsziš* 'Schilf, Schnittgras,' *pliuszūtis* 'sich abfasern, ravel out'; Lith. *plaukai* 'hairs,' Lett. *plauki* 'snowflakes, what falls from the comb in weaving, dust,' *plaukas* 'flocks, fibers, tow; hulls,' *plūzu*, *plūkt* 'pflücken, raufen, zupfen, schleissen, pluck, pull': OHG. *floccho* 'Flocke,' etc. (cf. Persson Beitr. 806 f.).

36. From the same base come also OE. *flēoge* 'fly,' OHG. *flōga* id., etc.; ON. *fluga* 'fly; moth,' *hunangsfluga* 'bee.'

37. Lith. *sparvā* 'Bremse, gadfly,' Lett. *spārwa*, *spārws* id., *spāres*, *spāri* 'gadflies': Lat. *sparus*, *sparum* 'short hunting-spear,' ON. *sparr*, *sporr*, *spjor* 'spear,' OHG. *sper* id., *sporo* 'spur,' etc.

38. Lett. *knausis* 'eine kleine Stechfliege': *knūst*, *knūt* 'jücken,' Gr. *κνίω* 'scratch, touch gently,' *κνίμα* 'a scratching.'

39. Lat. *pēdis* 'louse,' root **tyei-* in Gr. *σῆς* 'moth,' etc. No. 55.

40. Lat. *ricinus* 'a sheep- or dog-louse, tick; a thorny plant, called also *cici* and *croton*': Gr. *ἐρείκω* 'bruise, tear, pierce,' Skt. *riçāti* 'rupft, reisst ab, weidet.'

41. OE., ON., OHG. *lūs* 'louse,' etc. is an old consonant stem **lūs-*, with which compare Kelt. **loves-* in OWelsh *leueseticc* 'von Läusen zerfressen, wurmstichig,' Welsh *lleuen* 'pediculus,' Corn. *lowen*, *lewen-ki* 'cinomia' (*κνέμνια*), Bret. *louen* 'pou' (Fick II⁴, 256): Skt. *lunāti* 'cut off,' *lāvah* 'cutting off; particle, bit,' *lāvah* 'cutting off, plucking,' *lāvakah* 'cutter.'

42. Av. *spiš* 'louse,' Pehl. *spiš*, *spuš*, NPers. *supuš*, *uspuš*, Afghan *spaža* id. etc. (Horn 705): perhaps root **spei-* in Lat. *spina*, *spica*, *pinna*, etc.

43. LRuss. *bloščýča* 'bedbug,' Lett. *blakys*, Lith. *blāki* id. (Berneker EW. 62), base **bhlog-*, 'scratch, peel off, tease': Lith. *blakà* 'eine Stelle in der Leinwand (od. sonst im Gewebe), wo ein Faden gerissen ist,' 'flaw in weaving,' MHG. *blāhe* 'grobes Leintuch,' ON. *blāja* 'coarse cloth,' early Dan. *blaa* 'tow, oakum,' root **bhel-* in Gr. *φελλεύς* 'rough, stony ground,' *φελλός* 'the cork-tree, cork-bark,' *φολίς* 'scale of reptiles; a spot, φλονίς·φολίς, λεπίς Hes., φλόνος φλόμος 'mullen, feltwort' (named from its rough wooly leaves), *φλοιός* 'rind, peel, bark,' *φλοτίζω* 'strip off the rind, peel,' *φλάω* 'crush, bruise,' OE. *blæd* 'blade, leaf,' OHG. *blat* 'Blatt,' etc.

Or Balto-Slav. **blak-*, **blok-* may come from **mlog-*: Lat. *mulceo* 'stroke,' *mulcāre* 'maltreat,' root **mel-* 'rub, grind,' Lat. *molo*, Goth. *malan* 'grind,' *malō* 'moth,' *malwjan* 'crush,' ON. *mplr* (**malu-*) 'mite,' OHG. *miliwa* 'Milbe,' Skt. *malū-ka-* 'a kind of worm,' Arm. *mlukn* 'bedbug, cimex.' Cf. Lidén Arm. St. 82 f.

Or Lett. *blakts* 'bedbug,' etc., Lat. *blatta* (**blacta*) 'moth' (cf. Walde² s. v.) may be from a base **bleq-*: OE. *plīcgan* 'scrape,' *plega* 'quick movement; game, athletic sport; fighting, applause,' *plegan*, *plagian* 'play, frolic; play (harp); applaud; strive (for),' MDu. *pleien* 'play, dance,' LG. *plegel* 'flail,' EFris. *plakke* 'blow, whack,' Norw. *pligg*, *plugg* 'plug, peg,' MLG. *plugge*, *plucke* id., MHG., NHG. *pflock*, ON. *plógr*, OE. *plōg* 'plow,' etc.

44. Lat. *insectum* 'insect.' According to Pliny 11, 1, 1: "Jure omnia insecta appellata ab incisuris, quae nunc cervicum loco, nunc pectorum, atque alvi, praecincta separant membra, tenui modo fistula cohaerentia." Properly or improperly, insects are not so named, and this is probably no exception. *Insectum* probably meant 'cutting into,' not 'cut into.'

45. MHG. NHG. *schabe* 'cockroach; moth,' OE. *mæl-sceafa* 'caterpillar': OE. *sceafa*, OHG. *scaba* 'shave, plane, Schabeisen,' *scaban* 'shave, scrape,' etc.

46. OE. *ceafor* 'cockchafer, beetle,' OLG. *kevera*, OHG. *chevar(o)* 'Käfer,' etc.: *cheva* 'hull, husk,' MDu. *kaf* 'chaff,' OE. *ceaf* id., OBulg. *zobati* 'fressen.' Franck², 304.

47. OE. *bitel* 'beetle,' Dan. *bille* id.: OE. *bitela* 'biting,' *bītan* 'bite.'

48. OE. *wicga* (**wegjan-*) 'beetle,' Skt. *vághā* 'ein best. schädliches Tier,' **uegʰh-* 'cut, be sharp': OE. *wecg* 'wedge,' ON. *veggr* id., OHG. *wecki* 'Keil, Weck,' Lith. *vágis* 'Zapfen, Pflöck,' Gr. *ὀφνίς· ὕννις, ἄροτρον* Hes., OHG. *waganso* 'plow-share,' Lat. *vōmer* id.

49. OBulg. *črīvī škǫlǫžē, sǫžs*, LRuss. *červ*, 'worm,' Czech *cerv* 'worm, maggot,' *červec* 'plant-bug': Russ. dial. *čirvū* 'sickle,' *červákū* 'saw,' Lith. *kiŗvis* 'ax,' Skt. *cārvati* 'zermalmte, zerkaut' (cf. Berneker Et. Wb. 172 f.).

50. Lat. *ērūca* 'caterpillar, cankerworm': *runcāre* 'pull out, pluck, weed,' Gr. *ὀρύσσω* 'dig, dig through,' Lett. *rūk'ēt* 'wühlen, schüren, scharren' (cf. Walde², 259.).

51. MDu. *rūpe, ruppe, rupse* 'Raupe,' MLG. *rūpe* id., OHG. *rūpa, rūppa* from LG., NHG. *raupe*, dial. *roppe, ruppe*: Germ. **rūp(p)-, rupp-, rub-* etc. in ON. *riúfa* 'break, make a hole,' MDu. *roppen, ruppen*, 'pluck at, tear off; eat greedily,' MLG. *roppen* 'rupfen, zupfen,' MHG. *ropfen, rupfen*, Pol. *rypać* 'scindere, friare,' *rupić* 'bite,' Lat. *rumpo*, etc. (cf. Franck Et. Wb.², 565). Or cf. No. 98.

52. MHG. *rappe* 'Raupe, eruca,' *rappen* 'abraupen': *rappe, rapfe* 'Krätze, Räude,' EFris., Du. *rafel* 'raveling,' NE. *ravel*, Gr. *ἐρέπτομαι* 'eat, feed on.'

53. NFris. *ryp* 'caterpillar, eruca,' Du. dial. *rijp, rips(e)*, *risp(e)* id.: OE. *ripan, ripian* 'reap,' Norw. dial. *ripa* 'scratch, streak,' *ripa* 'strip off,' early NE. *ripple* 'scratch or break slightly, graze,' ME. *ripelen*, NE. *ripple* 'clean flax of seeds,' MLG. *repen, repelen* id., OHG. *riffila* 'saw,' MHG. *riffel* 'rasttrum,' NHG. *riffeln*, ON. *rispa* 'scratch.'

54. Gr. *τερηδών* 'wood-worm; caries,' whence *τερηδονίζεσθαι* 'be worm-eaten, esp. of wood; of bones, be carious': *τερέω* 'bore through, pierce'; Lith. *trandė* 'Made, Holzwurm,' *trendėti* 'von Motten, Würmern zerfressen werden,' Skt. *trñātti, tar-dayati* 'spaltet, durchbohrt,' Lat. *tarmes, termes* 'borer, wood-worm' (**t̥rmi-*, *termit-*): Gr. *τράμυς· τὸ τρήμα τῆς ἔδρας, τὰς ἐντερον* (**t̥rmi-*), *τόρμος* 'any hole or socket, in which a pin or peg is stuck,' ON. *þarmr*, OHG. *darm* 'Darm,' etc. (**tormo-*). All from the root **tere-* 'bore,' but formed independently.

55. Gr. *σῆς* 'tinea, moth, book-worm,' **txēi-*: *σίνομαι* 'tear away, devour,' *σίνις* 'destroyer' (Boisacq); or **kē-*, Skt. *cyāti* 'whet.' Cf. No. 62.

56. Gr. *σίλφη* 'grub, beetle; book-worm,' **txil-bhā*: Lat. *pilus* 'hair,' **txilos* 'anything pulled off,' *pilāre* 'rub bare; plunder, pillage,' from **txi-* in Gr. *σίνομαι*, OE. *þwīnan* 'be worn away, dwindle,' *þwītan* 'cut, shave off,' etc.

57. Gr. *τίλφη* 'beetle; book-worm' may be identical with the above. Or compare *τίλλω* 'pluck, pull, tear, shred; vex, annoy'; *τίλαι* 'anything pulled to pieces; flocks, motes floating in the air,' *τίλος* 'anything shredded, flock, down, fine hair,' Skt. *tilah* 'particle, grain, sesame,' OBulg. *tilja* 'moth,' *tiliti* 'corrumper,' *tilēti* 'corrupti'; *tina* 'lutum': Lat. *tinea* 'moth.'

58. Gr. *ἱξ*, *ἱκός* 'a worm or grub that destroys the vine-buds': Lat. *ico* 'strike, hit, stab, sting,' Gr. *ικέα* · *ἀκόντιον*, *αἰκλοι* · *αἱ γωνίαι τοῦ βέλους*, OPruss. *aysmis* 'spear,' Lith. *észmas* 'Bratspiess, spit' (cf. Walde², 374 with lit.).

59. Gr. *ἱψ*, *ἱπός* 'a worm that eats wood and vine-buds' is according to Boisacq the same as *ἱξ* influenced by the following words. Prellwitz² s. v. compares *ἵπτομαι*, which after all may be correct. Compare OHG. *wibil* 'Art Käfer, Kornwurm,' OE. *wifel* 'beetle, weevil,' *scearnwifel*, *-wibba* 'beetle, Mistkäfer'; *wifel*, *wifer* 'arrow, dart,' Skt. *vipāṭhah* 'eine Art Pfeil': Lat. *vīpera* 'viper.'

60. Gr. *θρίψ* 'worm, esp. a wood-worm': perhaps Goth. *dreiban* 'drive' (Meringer IF. 18, 235); or Sloven. *drípati* 'zerreißen,' Bulg. *drípav* 'zerrissen, zerlumpt,' etc., which, however, may have IE. *d*. Or the original form may be **dhrīq-*; OBulg. *drīkoli* 'ξύλον, Knüttel, Stange, Spiess,' Lith. *drỹkti* 'sich lang herabhängend ziehen,' *driká* 'ein Faden oder eine Partie Fäden, welche beim Weben in den Kamm nicht eingezogen wie eine Locke gewickelt herabhängen,' *drēkti* 'Halme od. Fäden lang streuen,' *refl.* 'sich fallend lang hinziehen,' *draikas* 'langgestreckt, von Bäumen, schlank,' etc. (cf. Berneker Et. Wb. 223, 232.) The underlying meaning here is draw out, make thin, whence anything long, thin, pointed; fiber, thread, stalk, hair, etc. Compare **dhrigh-* in Gr. *θρίξ* 'hair, wool,

bristle, feather,' *θρίσσα* 'a kind of fish,' *τριχίς, τριχίας* 'a kind of anchovy.'

61. Gr. *κνίψ* 'a small kind of ant, which gnaws figs; an insect living in wood,' *σκνίψ* id., also 'a stingy person, i. e. pincher': *κνίπός, σκνίπός* 'stingy, niggardly,' *σκνίπτω* 'pinch, nip; be niggardly.'

62. Gr. *κῖς* 'wood-worm, weevil, moth': Skt. *śīcitē, śyātī* 'sharpen, whet' (Boisacq 459 with lit.): Lat. *cīmex*, etc. Cf. Nos. 23, 30, 110.

63. Goth. *malō* 'moth,' ON. *mōlr* id., ChSl. *mōlī sēs*, 'Motte, Schabe,' Skt. *malūka-h* 'kind of worm': Lat. *molo*, Goth. *malan* 'grind.'

64. Lith. *kandė* 'moth, esp. its larva': *kāndu* 'bite.'

In many instances words for louse, moth (i. e. its larva), mite, maggot, gnat, nit, etc., while derived from words for cut, scrape, rub, grind, crumble mean not 'scraper, gnawer' but 'scrapings, bit, particle,' often with the idea of rottenness, filth. The following may be so classified, and probably several of those given above.

65. Gr. *κάρ · φθείρ* Hes., *κάρνος · φθείρ* H., Lat. *carius* 'tinea': *caries* 'rottenness, decay,' Skt. *grṇāti* 'break in pieces, crush,' *śtryatē* 'be crushed, crumble.' Here also may belong Gr. *ἀκαρι* 'mite, maggot,' *ἀκαριαῖος, ἀκαρίς* 'short, small, tiny,' *ἀκαρίς* 'bit, morsel.'

66. OE. *moppe* 'moth,' ON. *motte*, MHG. *motte* id.: ON. *moð* 'scraping, shred,' *má* 'scrape off' (cf. Fick III⁴, 326). Cf. No. 20.

67. Goth. OE. *maþa* 'worm, maggot,' OS. *matho*, OHG. *mado*, ON. *maðkr* id.: Gr. *μόρον, μορός* 'shredded linen, lint,' Lat. *meto* 'cut off, pluck off, reap, mow crop.'

68. OE. *mite* 'small insect, mite,' NE. *mite* 'an acarid; a small particle, bit; a small coin,' MDu., MLG. *mitte* id., OHG. *miza* 'gnat': Goth. *maitan* 'cut.'

69. OHG. *mīlwa*, NHG. *mīlbe* 'mite,' MLG. *mele* id., Germ. stem **melwjō-* 'mealy, dustlike'; OHG. OS. *melo* 'meal, flour,' stem *melwa-*, MHG. *mīlwen* 'grind to dust or meal.'

70. Serb.-Cr. *grīzica*, *grīzlīca*, *grīznica* 'Motte': *grīz* 'halb-verdautes Futter im Magen des Ochsen; Sägespäne, Slov. *grīz*, *grīza* 'Beissen, Bissen,' etc. Cf. No. 116.

71. Serb.-Cr. *kŕpelj* 'Art Zecke, Filzlaus,' Slov. *kŕpèlj* id.: *krúpa* 'Gerstengraupe,' Serb.-Cr. *krúpa* 'Hagel, Graupen,' OBulg. *krupa*, *krupica* 'ψιχίον, Brocken, Krümchen.' Berneker Et. Wb. I, 631.

72. Serb.-Cr. *kŕšijelj* 'Art Filzlaus,' Slov. *kŕšèlj* id.: *kŕšiti* 'brechen, verderben,' ChSl. *krūšiti* 'zerstückeln, zerbrechen,' *krūcha* 'Brocken, Krümchen,' etc. Id. ibid.

73. Lett. *skuteles* 'Schaflläuse: mit Ungeziefer gefüllter Schelfen': *skust* 'scrape, shave,' Lith. *skutù*, *skùsti* id., *skutà* 'dust,' *skùtas*, *skiàutė* 'small piece, flap,' Gr. σκνίξει·σπαράττει Hes. Cf. No. 95.

74. Gr. ψώρα 'itch, scurvy, scab : moth,' ψωρός 'itchy, scabby, mangy,' etc.

75. Gr. σέρφος 'a kind of gnat,' σύρφος·θηρίδιον μικρόν, ὁποῖον ἐμπίς Hes.: σύρφος, συρφετός 'sweepings, refuse, litter, quinquilliae,' σύρμα id.: σύρω 'drag along, sweep away,' σάιρω 'sweep, clean,' σάρος 'broom; litter, refuse.'

76. Gr. σάθραξ·φθείρ Hes.: σαθρός 'rotten, decayed,' ψαθυρός 'friable, crumbling'; ψῆν 'rub, wear away,' Skt. *psāti* 'eat, chew,' *bābhasti* 'chew, crush.' Fick, BB. 26, 114.

77. Gr. φθείρ 'louse, tick; a sea-fish that sticks on other fishes; small fruit of a kind of pine': φθείρω 'corrupt, spoil,' Skt. *kṣāraṭi* 'flow.' Prellwitz, Boisacq.

78. Skt. *trōṭakaḥ* 'a poisonous insect': *trōṭayati* 'break to pieces,' *truṭāti* 'break, fall apart.' Uhlenbeck Ai. Wb. 118.

79. Gr. δόρκαυ·κονίδες Hes.: Lith. *darkūs* 'garstig, hässlich, schändlich,' *darkýti* 'schimpfen; verunstalten,' *deŕkti* 'garstig machen, mit Unflat besudeln,' MHG. *zürch*, *zurch* 'Kot,' *zürchen*, *zürgen*, *zürcken* 'den Kot von sich lassen, misten'; Russ. *dērka* 'Zerren, Zupfen, Kratzen,' *drať* 'reissen, zerreißen,' *dr'anī* 'Lumpenzeug, Kehricht, Schmutz,' OBulg. *dirati* 'reissen, schinden,' Gr. δέρω 'skin, flay,' δαρός 'flayed,' OE. *tord* (offal, filth) 'dung,' **dr̥tóm*, *teter* 'ring-worm,' Skt. *dadrúh* 'leprosy, scab,' *dardūh* id., Lat. *derbiōsus* 'scabby, grindig.'

80. OBulg. *gadŭ* 'vermin; noxious animal,' *gadīnŭ* 'filthy,' Russ. *gadŭ* 'loathsome person,' *gádit'* 'defile,' Pol. *gad* 'reptile, vermin, lice,' *gadźina* 'serpent, viper,' OHG. *quāt* 'Kot, Schmutz,' NHG. Tirol. *kot* 'ekelhaftes Tier,' *köter* 'allerhand Ungeziefer' (cf. Berneker I, 289).

81. OE. *gnætt*, NE. *gnat* 'a small fly, midge,' LG. *gnatte* id.: Swed. dial. *gnatt* 'Stäubchen, Atom,' MHG. *gnatz* 'Schorf, Grind; Knauserei,' ON. *gnat* 'clash,' IE. *a⁹*, 107.

82. MLG. *gnitte* 'eine Art kleiner Mücken,' EFris. *gnid*, *gnit* 'allerlei kleines Zeug; kleines Fliegengeschmeiss, Sommermücken,' Swed. *gnet* 'Niss,' Jutl. *gnit* 'Stückchen; Mücke,' Norw. dial. *gnit* 'Niss,' *gnita* 'abgebrochenes Stückchen,' Pol. *gnida* 'Niss,' Russ. *gnida*, Czech *hnida* etc., Lett. *gnide* 'scharfe, schäbige, schmutzige Haut,' MLG. *gnist* 'Räude,' MHG. *gnist* 'fest auf der Kopfhaut sitzender Schmutz, Grind,' Tirol. *gneist* 'klein geschnittenes oder geschabtes Zeug,' OE. *gnidan* 'rub, pulverize,' pret. *gnād* and *-gnāð*, IE. base **ghneit-*, *ghneid-* from **ghnei-*; Gr. *χνίει·ψακάει, θρύττει (θρύττει)*, OBulg. *gniti* 'faulen,' *gnŭŭ* 'faul,' *gnoji komlja*, Russ. *gnoiť* 'eitern lassen; düngen,' etc., Norw. dial. *gnika* 'reiben, streichen, drücken; geizig sein,' *gniken* 'knausert,' and many others. Cf. Persson Beitr. 94 f.

83. Russ. *gnusŭ* 'Geschmeiss, Ungeziefer, kleine kriechende Tiere,' *gnúsnyj* 'widerlich, garstig, schmutzig,' OBulg. *gnusinŭ* 'ekelhaft,' *gnušati se* 'sich ekeln,' Serb. *gnŭs* 'Schmutz, Mist; Ekel,' Bulg. *gnus* 'Ekel,' *gnusen* 'schmutzig; ekelhaft,' etc.: Gr. *χναίω* 'scrape, gnaw off, nibble,' *χναῦμα* 'a piece cut off; dainty, tit-bit,' *χναυρός* 'dainty,' *χνόος* 'scrapings; scum, foam; down; flocks; dust of chaff,' OSwed. *gnoa*, *gnugga* 'reiben,' ON. *gnúa* 'rub, crush,' Norw. dial. *gnūra* 'reiben, drücken,' *gnaura* 'scheuern, etc. (cf. IE. *a⁹*, 107).

84. Swed. dial. *knott* (ON. **knotttr*) 'kleine Mücke, kleiner Gegenstand': ON. *knotttr* 'Kugel, Ball,' Norw. *knott* 'kurzer und dicker Körper, Knorren'; ON. *knoða* 'kneten,' OE. *cnedan* 'knead,' OBulg. *gneto*, *gnesti* 'drücken,' *u-gnētati συνθλίβειν*).

85. OE. *hritu* 'nit, louse's egg,' OHG. *niz* 'Niss,' etc.: Gr. *κνίω* 'scrape, grate,' *κνίσμα* 'what is scraped off': *κνάω*, *κνάλω* 'scrape,' Lett. *knischi* 'Staubmücken.'

86. Gr. *κοῖς* (δ) 'nit, egg of the louse, flea, bug,' even if related to the above, was probably derived independently from the same root. Compare rather *κόυς*, *κονία* 'dust, powder, ashes,' Lat. *cinis*.

87. Ir. *sned* 'lens, nit,' Welsh *nedd* id., IE. **snida*, and perhaps also Alb. *θent* 'nit,' which may go back to the same form: root **snei-* 'snip' in OHG. *snīdan* 'schneiden,' OE. *snǣd* 'piece, morsel,' *snid* 'slice, cut,' MHG. *snitzen* 'schnitzen'; Norw. *snipa* 'snap,' *snipa* 'a snippy person; a niggard,' *snipen* 'stingy; sharpcornered,' Swed. *snipig* 'spitz, spitzig,' ON. *snipell* 'tip,' Du. *snippen* 'zerstückeln,' NE. *snip*, etc.

88. Skt. *likhya-h*, *likṣā* 'nit, louse-egg,' NPers. *rišk*, Afghan *riča* id., Bel. *rišk* 'lice,' Osset. *liskā* 'nits' (cf. Horn Np. Et. 618): Skt. *likhāti* 'ritz, reißt auf.' This may have IE. *l* confused with a synonymous word with *r*. Compare Gr. *λεῖχην* 'lichen, *ψώρα*, scabies; ring-worm, rash, scurvy, tetter, scab,' Lat. *dē-lictus* 'verruclatus, wart-covered.'

89. Lat. *lens*, *lendis* 'nit' may be combined with Lith. *lendù* 'creep, crawl' (IF. 18, 24) providing the primary meaning was 'vermin.' For meaning compare Slov. *lāzica* 'louse,' Czech *lazuka* 'reptile,' LRuss. *lažúka* 'snake': Russ. *láza* 'crawler,' Slov. *láziti* 'creep, crawl,' etc. (cf. Berneker Et. Wb. I, 697). But the primary meaning here as in other words for nit was probably 'bit, particle.' Perhaps related to the following.

90. Lith. *glānda* 'nit': **ghle(n)d-*, *ghole(n)d-* 'scrape, rub' in Lith. *galāndu*, *galāsti* 'whet,' Slov. *glodati* 'scrape,' Russ.-ChSl. *glodati* τρώγειν, δαπανᾶν, Russ. *glodát* 'gnaw,' ON., Nlcel. *glata* 'destroy, ruin; lose,' *refl.* 'be lost, perish,' Norw. dial. *glata* 'lose; remove a part, diminish; *intr.* diminish,' Gr. *χλόδη* · ἐκλυσίς καὶ μαλακία Hes.

A number of words for bug, beetle, etc. mean primarily 'chunk, bunch' or 'peg, pin' in reference to their shape.

91. Swed. *bobba* 'Totenkäfer,' dial. *bobb* 'a short thick bug; a short thickset person,' NHG., Als. *buppe* 'Gebund Hanf oder Tabak, Büschel Werg, Fruchtzapfen der Kiefer,' *boppe* 'Knäuel Hanf,' *borppi* 'Mops, dicker Hund,' etc.

92. Gr. *κρότων* 'dog-louse, tick; the thorn-bearing castor-

berly': κροτώνη 'an excrescence, knot on a tree, esp. on the olive.' Prellwitz², 246.

93. Gr. σπονδύλη, σφονδύλη 'a kind of beetle' is plainly named in reference to its shape: σπόνδυλος, σφόνδυλος 'any round body: the round weight which balances and twirls a spindle, any round stone, pebble; vertebra; whorl of a plant' (cf. Boisacq 900).

94. Gr. κάνθαρος 'a kind of beetle; a sort of drinking-cup; a sea-fish,' κανθαρίς 'a kind of beetle, the Spanish fly; a beetle hurtful to corn; a kind of fish': κανθύλη 'swelling, ανοίδησις.'

95. Gr. σκυντάλη 'a thick stick, cudgel; roller, windlass: a serpent,' σκυνταλῖς id., a finger-joint; a kind of crab; a kind of caterpillar,' σκύταλον 'club; neck,' σκύτη 'head,' Lett. *skausts* 'Keil, Kreuz, Nacken eines Tieres.'

96. Icel. *kleggi* 'cleg, horse-fly; small cock of hay; lump, lot, portion,' Germ. **klaijan-* 'clod, clump, lump, anything sticking together': OE. *clæg* 'clay,' MLG. *klei* 'the rich soil of the marsh lands,' Du. *klei* 'muck, clay.'

97. OE. *ātor-coppe* (poison-bunch) 'spider'; *copp* 'summit,' *cuppe* 'cup,' OS. *coppod* 'cristatus,' MHG. *kopf* 'cup, bowl, head'; Icel. *kubbi*, *kubbr* 'stump, stub,' Norw. dial. *kubbe* 'block, stub,' NE. *cob* 'a roundish lump: a nut, kernel, pellet of food, a haycock, corn-cob; a young herring; a bullhead, gudgeon; the common clam; cub, whelp,' Icel. *kobbi* 'young seal,' LG. *kobbe* 'spider.'

98. OHG. *rūppa*, *rūpa* 'caterpillar,' NHG. *raupe*, dial. *ruppe*, *roppe*, 'caterpillar,' MDu. *rūpe*, *ruupe*, *rupse*, MLG. *rūpe* id., Germ. **rupp-*, *rubb-* 'a piece torn off, a rough piece, fragment, chunk, stub,' etc.: MHG. *rūpe*, *ruppe*, OHG. *rūpba* 'Quabbe, Aalraupe,' OBulg. *ryba* 'fish'; Du. *rob*, EFris. *rubbe* 'seal,' Norw. *rubb* 'rope-end, stub or fragment of anything,' *rubba* 'rub, scrub; scale fish,' EFris. *rubben* 'rub, scratch, scrape,' NE. *rub*, etc. (cf. Franck Et. Wb². 552). Cf. No. 51.

99. Gr. βᾶξ (-γ-) 'a berry, esp. a grape; finger-tip; a small venomous spider' may or may not be remotely related to Lat. *racēmus*. The supposition that these words are pre-IE. is based on the theory that the words that exist must for the most part have come down from a hoary antiquity. But there is no more

reason here than in thousands of other cases to make this assumption. The comparison of *ṣāṣ* with Lat. *frāgum* 'strawberry,' Skt. *sraja-* 'wreath, garland' is far more scientific, in spite of its uncertainty. For it adequately explains the underlying meaning ('a winding together: wreath; bunch, ball; berry; spider'), and does no violence to the phonetic form.

The comparison is, of course, uncertain because of the various phonetic possibilities of *ṣāṣ* and *frāgum*. For the former may represent **rāg*, **srāg*, or **urāg*; and the latter **srāgo*, **bhrāgo*- (cf. my explanation for *frāgum*, Mod. Phil. XI, 327), **dhrāgo*- or **mrāgo*-. To add to the uncertainty of *frāgum*, *-rā-* may come from *ṛ*. But *frāgum* : *frāgrāre* is a comparison for which I can find no parallel elsewhere.

100. Lett. *spradfis* 'ground flea, flea-beetle' is referred by Persson Beitr. 869 to Lett. *spirgs* 'frisch, munter, gesund,' *spridfigs* 'rasch, munter,' etc., the primary meaning being 'springer, hopper.' This would be a scientifically correct name for a species of the genus *Haltica*, and the explanation may be all right. And yet it is possible that *spradfis*, though belonging to the group of words discussed by Persson l. c., may have been named from its shape rather than its activity. First of all we may compare Lith. *spragis*, *spragas* 'Raupe, caterpillar,' and both with OE. *spræc* 'shoot, twig,' *spracen* 'alder, alnus,' Norw. *sprake* 'juniper,' Lith. *spragė* 'bilberry, *Vaccinium myrtillus*,' Lett. *spradfenes* 'a species of strawberry, *Fragaria collina*,' *spurgulis* 'fin, fiber,' *spurdfes* 'the flower of the hop,' Lith. *spūrgana* id., *spūrgas* 'bud,' Gr. ἀσπάργος, ἀσφάργος 'shoot, sprig of various plants, esp. asparagus,' Skt. *sphūrjah* 'a certain plant,' Av. *sparəgō* 'barb of an arrow.'

101. Gr. σκώληξ 'a worm, esp. the earth-worm; also a worm in the stomach': σκῶλος 'a pointed stake; a thorn, prickle.' Cf. No. 124.

102. Skt. *ṣalīnaḥ* 'a kind of insect,' *ṣālūrakah* 'an intestinal worm': *ṣālāḥ* 'staff, sharp point, prickle,' *ṣalalam* 'quill of the porcupine,' *ṣalyāḥ* 'spearpoint, thorn, sting': *ṣālyakah* 'porcupine,' *ṣallakah* id. (cf. Uhlenbeck Ai. Wb. 305 f.).

103. Skt. *vr̥ṇtam* 'Stiel: Raupe,' primarily 'whorl': Skt. *vārtatē*, Lat. *verto*, etc.

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III.—THE LOVER'S BLINDNESS.

"Love," in Shakespeare's phrase, "adds a precious seeing to the eye," and it is owing to this improvement that the lover sees in his lady charms which all others fail to see. To these others, therefore, the lover (or love) is blind; for the defects which are apparent to them do not exist for the lover. These are conventions of which literature has made wide and varied use, and in earlier articles I have shown how potent, in regard to the lover and the object of his love, has been the force of a literary tradition inherited from Greece and Rome; how, owing to this tradition, the lover has been wont to set forth the results of his "precious seeing" in a catalogue of his lady's charms. But the bystander, the one who lacks this "precious seeing," to whom the lover is blind, has his rights also, and we find, therefore, by the side of the catalogue of charms, a catalogue of defects which is, I believe, like the other an inheritance from ancient literature. This latter catalogue may serve as a mere vituperative attack upon a woman, real or imaginary, or it may be a burlesque upon the catalogue of charms,—a gentle satire upon the lover's blindness. Very often, too, the lover himself, when love is done and he sees as other men, writes a retraction of his former praise, a palinode, in which he pictures his former lady not as he had once owing to his "precious seeing" described her, but as she really is.

Just as the conventional catalogue of charms has received in modern literature its most characteristic expression at the hands of the sonneteers of the 16th century, so it is they who furnish us with the best examples of the lover's retraction, and there is hardly a poet who wrote sonnets in praise of his lady's beauty, who did not also write sonnets in which he retracts this praise. A fair sample of this form of the convention, chosen from a large number, is afforded by Barnes,¹ Parthenophil and Parthenophe, Son. XIII, in which the poet seeks a way to hate his lady, and prays his thoughts "to take enrollment / Of nature's

¹ In Arber, *The English Garner*, V, pp. 339 sq.

fault in her." . . . "They searched, and found her eyes were sharp and fiery, / A mole upon her forehead colored pale, / Her hair disordered, brown, and crisped wiry, / Her cheeks thin speckled with a summer's male. / This told, men weened it was a pleasing tale / Her to disgrace, and make my follies fade." For the conventional catalogue of this lady's charms, cf. Son. XLVIII. This whole matter is well discussed by Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*,² who cites a large number of examples from English poets and their French models; among the latter especially noteworthy is Jodelle, *Contr' Amours*, VII: *Combien de fois mes vers ont-ils doré / Ces cheveux noirs*," etc. The conceit took form under the hands of the Italian sonneteers, and we have a characteristic example among the sonnets of Francesco Berni,³ Son. III, in which he ridicules at the same time the conventional comparison of beautiful features to precious stones. He makes the golden hair of his once loved lady silver, her silver skin, gold, her sapphire eyes, pearls, her black eye-brows, snowy white, her long, slender fingers, short and thick, her red lips, milky white, her ivory teeth, ebony and few in number, her sweet voice, discord. How far back the practice goes I am unable to say; what may be an example occurs among the poets represented in Valeriani's collection,⁴ a sonnet by Ottaviano degli Ubaldini describing an ugly woman. It is impossible to decide, however, owing to the scantiness of the record, whether this is a real retraction or simply a vituperative attack.

It was doubtless the influence of Italian or French poets which led Lydgate (?) to write his "A Satirical Poem on his Lady"⁵ in which he describes her "fro the heed to the novyl and so forth down," and Hoccleve his little poem,⁶ comparable in form to the sonnet, which begins, "Of my lady wel me reioise I may: / Hir golden forheed is ful narw and smal, / Hir browes been lyk to dym reed coral; / And as the leet / Hir yen glistren ay," etc. In the latter poem we have, it may be noted, just as

² New edition, 1916, pp. 192 sq.

³ *Rime e Lettere*, Firenze, 1865.

⁴ *Poeti del Primo Secolo della Lingua Italiana*, Fir. 1816, II, p. 231.

⁵ Printed in *Percy Society*, II, p. 199. Because of the obscenity of the poem MacCracken, *E. E. T. S.*, 1911, 107, p. xxxi, argues that the poem ought not to be attributed to Lydgate.

⁶ Ed. Furnivall, *E. E. T. S.*, 61, p. xxxviii.

in Berni, a satire, also, on the conventional comparison to precious stones, and the fact that Hoccleve parodies the silver skin of the beauty catalogue in his "golden forehead" may indicate an Italian poem as his source, since "silver skin" as a mark of beauty is very common in early Italian poetry.⁷

This burlesque catalogue, however, finds its chief place in the drama and romance. The best known example is that in Shakespeare, *M. N. D.* III, 1. Of the same character is the rhapsody of Sir Tophas over Dipsas, in Lyly, *Endimion* III, 3: "What a pretty low forehead! What a tall and stately nose! What little hollow eyes! How harmless she is being toothlesse! her fingers fat and short, adorned with long nailes like a byttern!" Cf. *ib.* V, 2. In "The Woman in the Moon," on the other hand, Lyly gives us an example of the other sort of burlesque, the retraction, when Pandora, V, 1, in her anger against Gunophilus, whom a moment before she had ardently loved and praised, turns upon him and cries, "What fury made me doate upon these lookes? / Like winter's picture are his withered cheekes, / His hayre as raven's plumes," etc. From the Elizabethan romance may be cited Greene, *Menaphon's Eclogue*:⁸ "Camela dear, even as the golden ball / That Venus got, such are thy goodly eyes; / When cherries' juice is jumbled therewithal, / Thy breath is like the steam of apple-pies. / Thy lips resemble two cucumbers fair; / Thy teeth like to the tusks of fattest swine; / Thy speech is like the thunder in the air; / Would God, thy toes, thy lips, and all were mine." Sidney, *Arcadia*, Bk. I (London, 1725, I, p. 19) describes an ugly wench named Mopsa in verses the first of which burlesque the conventional comparison of beautiful women to gods and goddesses, and then, "Her forehead iacinth-like, her cheeks of opal hue, / Her twinkling eyes bedeck'd with pearl, her lips a sapphire blue: / Her hair like crapal stone; her mouth, O heavenly wide! / Her skin like burnished gold, her hands like silver ore untry'd." In another passage, Bk. II, p. 271, old Miso, the mother of Mopsa, recalls how she used to hear the young men talk of her: "O the pretty little eyes of Miso; O the fine thin lips of Miso; O the goodly

⁷ Cf. e. g. Jacopo Pugliese (*Valeriani*, I, p. 238); Jacopo de Lentino, I, p. 286.

⁸ Dyce, Greene and Peele, p. 291.

fat hands of Miso!" The former passage well illustrates the close connection between these Elizabethan writers and earlier continental poets, imitating as it does the sonnet of Berni referred to above; cf. "her mouth, O heavenly wide," with Berni's "bocca ampia celeste." Both Green and Sidney are indulging in a bit of satire on the conventional catalogue of charms employed ad nauseam by the writers of romance, themselves included. We find, Cervantes, likewise, ridiculing the practice, *Don Quixote*, Pt. II, ch. 44, Altisidora's song: "Niña soy, pulcela tierna, / Mi edad de quince no pasa, / Catorce tengo y tres meses, / te iuro en Dios y en mi anima. / No soy renca, ni soy coja, / Ni tengo nada de manca, / Los cabellos como lirios, / Que en pie por el suelo arrastran. / Y aunque es mi boca aguilena, / Y la nariz algo chata, / Ser mis dientes de topacios, / mi belleza al cielo ensalza." And still earlier Chaucer satirizes the same faults in the romances of his day; cf. his *Sir Thopas*, and Skeat's remarks in his edition, v. V, p. 184; III, p. 423.

Back of all this poetry and prose we have as source for much of its machinery if not for its spirit, the great body of French literature of the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries, and it is not surprising, therefore, that in its very earliest satire we find a striking example of the lover's retraction. In the "*Le Jeu de la Feuillie*"* of Adam de la Halle, Adam, who had allowed love to interfere with his spiritual studies and had married a beautiful maiden whom he, after the conventional fashion, had met one summer's day, recovers and decides to return to the church. He tells his friends of his decision to leave his wife, and when they express their surprise, he informs them that love puts men under a spell so that "on cuide d'une truande / Bien que che soit une roine." Of this truth he himself is an illustration for the maiden whom he married, "rians, amoureuse et deugie," now appears to him to be "crasse, mautaille / Triste et tenchans"; . . . "Si crin sanloient reluisant / D'or, roit et crespé et fremiant: / Or sont kéu, noir et pendic. / Tout me sanle ore en lie mué; / Ele avoit front bien compassé, / Blanc, omni, large, fenestric: / Or le voi cresté et estroit," etc., every

* Ed. Monmerqué et Michel, *Théâtre français au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1842, p. 58.

feature contrasted with its opposite, and he concludes, "Bonnes gens, ensi fui-jou pris / Par Amours qui si m'eut souspris: / Car faitures n'ot pas si beles / Comme Amours le me fist sanler."

Adam's experience may have been a very real experience, but it is evident from what has been said that in these contrasted pictures of his wife he is directing his ridicule not against her only but against the poets of his time, their erotic common-places, their practice of describing the ladies of their imagination by means of a catalogue of their charms. That they deserved his ridicule is apparent to the most casual reader of the literature of the time, and we may be sure that there were others just as ready as he to raise a laugh at their expense. The very completeness of Adam's catalogue is evidence that it was not the first of its kind, but whether he drew from some immediate predecessor or was inspired by a passage from Ovid, which will be quoted below, it is impossible to say. The latter is the more probable, but he did not need Ovid to tell him that the lover is blind; the conceit was just as prevalent in his day as was the practice of writing catalogues of charms—how prevalent, may be shown by three passages taken from widely different spheres. The first occurs in a romance, *Li Biaus Desconneus* (ed. Hippeau), vs. 1675 sq.; the hero, as champion of the beautiful Margerie, is to fight Gifflet for the possession of a falcon which, as a prize of beauty, is now in the hands of the latter's lady, Rose Espanie, on whom the poet comments as follows, vs. 1708 sq.: *et s'amie / Qui avoit non Rose Espanie / En costé celui cevaugoit / Un palefroi qui brief estoit; / Moul't estoit et laide et froncie. / Ni a celui cui ne desfie / Qu'il la maintint por la plus bele. / Tot s'esmervellent cil et cele / Qu'amors li fait son sens muer. / Mais nus hom ne se puet garder / Qu'amors ne l' face bestorner; / La laide fait bele sanbler, / Tant set de guille et d' encanter.* The similarity to the words of Adam is apparent. The second passage is found in *Walter Map*, de *Nugis Curialium*, II, 12, where Walter tells the story of a certain *Edricus Wilde*, who one evening as he was returning home came upon a company of maidens, by the beauty of one of whom he was bewitched, and, says Walter, *quod recte caecus Cupido pingitur immemor omnium fantasma non pensat, ultorem non videt, et quod lumen non habet, offendit improvidus.* The third passage I quote from the *Lilium Medicinae* of *Bernardus Gor-*

donius (14th cen.), Particula II, where he discusses the malady of love: *dicebat versificator 'Omnis amans caecus, non est amor arbiter aequus. Nam deforme pectus iudicat esse decus' et alibi 'Quisquis amat ranam, ranam putat esse Dianam.'* The verses may come, as Professor Lowes, to whose learning¹⁰ I owe the reference, suggests, from some rimed treatise on medicine, but it was no doctor of medicine who first noticed such a symptom of the lover's malady. He found it and similar symptoms in the erotic literature of Greece and Rome whence came, also, as the following citations will show, the satire on the lover's blindness whether in the form of a burlesque on the beauty catalogue or of a retraction in the mouth of the lover himself.

"Not only is Ploutos blind," says Battus, the love-lorn clown to the mocking Milon in Theocritus, Id. X, 19, "but Eros also," and he straightway illustrates the truth of his remark by singing a song in praise of Bombyce, a scrawny, dark-skinned wench, beautiful, however, in his eyes: *Βομβύκα χάριεσσα, Σύραν καλέοντί τυ πάντες, / ισχνάν, ἀλιόκανστον· ἐγὼ δὲ μόνος μελίχλωρον.*

In the 6th Idyll again, we have the same sort of fun, when the poet makes the shepherd Daphnis sing of Galatea's coquettish wooing of the ugly Polyphemus, ending his song with the words, vs. 18-9: *ἥ γὰρ ἔρωτι / πολλάκις, ὦ Πολύφαιε, τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφανται.*

The former of these charming burlesques, written, we may be sure, in ridicule of the conventional love-songs of Theocritus' fellow-poets, recalls Socrates' gentle raillery in Plato, Rep. 474 D sq. Socrates, in getting at his definition of the true philosopher, asks the amorous Glaucon whether it is not usual for lovers to call by fair names features in their beloved which are really defects; one who has a snub nose is called agreeable; the hooked nose of another is called princely; the dark are said to have a manly look, the fair to be children of the gods, whereas the adjective "honey-colored" is naught but a flattering name applied to a sallow skin.

Far different from the spirit of these passages is the bitter arraignment of the folly of love in Lucretius, de R. N. 4, 1058 sq. Among its evil effects the poet counts the blindness

¹⁰ Compare his article, *The Lovers' Maladye of Hereos* in Mod. Phil. XI (1913-14), p. 499. I need hardly add that I cannot identify the versificator.

of lovers, which, vv. 1159 ff., he ridicules without stint; *nigra melichrus est, immunda et fetida acosmos, / caesia Palladium, nervosa et lignea dorcas, / parvula, pumilio, chariton mia, tota merum sal, / magna atque immanis cataplexis plenaque honoris*, etc. This passage from Lucretius may have suggested to Horace his use of the commonplace in S. I, 3, 38: *Illuc praevertamur, amatorem quod amicae / turpia decipiunt caecum, vitia aut etiam ipsa haec / delectant, veluti Balbinum polypus*¹¹ *Hagnae*. The application, however, is, as is usually the case with Horace's borrowings, entirely different.

It is apparent from these last citations that the blindness of lovers was a "commonplace of philosophy,"¹² the subject, doubtless, of serious discussion, since the lover's blindness, his habit of seeing his beloved's defects as charms, is but one illustration of man's general tendency to call foul things by fair names; cf. Juv. 8, 32: *Nanum cuiusdam Atlanta vocamus, / Aethiopem Cycnum, pravam extortamque puellam / Europen; canibus pigris scabieque vetusta / levibus et siccae lambentibus ora lucernae / nomen erit pardus tigris leo, si quid adhuc est / quod fremat in terris violentius*. Although this truth has for the moralist its serious side, still its general application by others, whether by philosophers in their learned discussions or by poets in their love-songs, offers a fair target for ridicule. And Cicero in a delightful passage, de N. D. I, 78 sq., takes a shot at them both.

Here Cotta, in arguing against the Epicurean doctrine that the gods have human form, asks very pertinently what human form is taken as the standard? Not all men are handsome; *deinde nobis qui concedentibus philosophis antiquis adolescentulis delectamur etiam vitia saepe iucunda sunt*. He then proceeds to give examples of this truth taking them from literature, one from the distant past, the other from the present, the blindness of the poet Alcaeus, to whom *naevus in articulo pueri—lumen videbatur*, and the blindness of Quintus Catulus, who wrote an epigram on Roscius confessing that in his eyes he seemed *pulchrior esse deo*. Huic, continues the witty Cotta, *deo*

¹¹Barnes, in the sonnet quoted, puts a mole on his lady's forehead.

¹²Cf. Morris' note on Hor. Sat. I, 3, 38, and on the whole matter, Lejay, *Oeuvres d'Horace, Satires*, pp. 63 sq.



pulchrior; at erat, sicuti hodie est, perversissimis oculis.—Redeo ad deos. The blindness of the lover, singing through the centuries his songs in praise of his beloved,—we may leave aside the blindness of the philosopher in respect to his gods,—is thus ridiculed by Cicero, and no ridicule was ever more charming or more effective.

Of all this material, Ovid, *tenerorum lusor amorum*, makes use in his own delightful fashion. In *A. A. II*, 657 sq., when he is instructing the young lover how to keep his lady, he tells him that: *Nominibus mollire licet mala: fusca vocetur, / Nigrior Illyrica cui pice sanguis erit; / Si paetast, Veneri similis, si rava, Minervae; / Sit gracilis, macie quae male viva suast; / Dic habilem, quaecumque brevis, quae turgida, plenam, / Et lateat vitium proximitate boni*. In the *Rem. Am.* 327 sq., on the other hand, he tells his pupil who would be cured of his love, to call defects by their true names: *Turgida, si plenast, si fuscast, nigra vocetur; / In gracili macies crimen habere potest*, etc.

The fact that this form of the satire on the lover's blindness occurs in Ovid is of importance not only because of his position as *praeceptor amoris* to the writers of the Middle Ages, but also because of the evidence which is thus afforded for the presence of the theme in the rhetorical schools. It is well known that many of Ovid's poems, especially his earlier ones, are versified *suasoriae* or *controversiae*, or scholastic theses, brought to life by his unfailing wit. That love, its character and effects, formed the subject-matter of many of these school exercises we know from the express testimony of Quintilian *II*, 4, 26: *solebant praeceptores mei . . . praeparare nos coniecturalibus causis cum quaerere atque exequi iuberent . . . 'quid ita crederetur Cupido puer atque volucer et sagittis ac face armatus' et similia*. Such a theme was no better fitted to sharpen the wits of the future lawyer than 'quid ita crederetur Cupido (or amator) caecus.' At all events this, or some kindred theme, Ovid may well have had in mind when he wrote *Am. II*, 4, in which he confesses that he will frame no false excuses to condone his failings; *non est certa meos quae forma invitet amores; / Centum sunt causae, cur ego semper amem*. In his eyes all girls are charming, the modest, the froward, the learned, the simple, the tall, the short, the dark, the fair, the girl with the locks of black as well as the girl with the locks of gold: *Seu pendent nivea pulli cervice*

capilli, / Leda fuit nigra conspicienda coma; / Seu flavent,
placuit croceis Aurora capillis: / Omnibus historiis se meus
aptat Amor.

The presence, moreover, in the Greek rhetorical schools of the Empire, of the theme of the lover's blindness is attested by its appearance in the erotic letters of this period, in those of Philostratus, for example, in whose works the philosophy of his time and rhetoric dwell together; cf. Ep. 52: οὐ τὸ ἐρᾶν νόσος, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ἐρᾶν · εἰ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁρᾶν τὸ ἐρᾶν, τυφλοὶ οἱ μὴ ἐρώντες, a very good statement of Ovid's text; cf. Aristænetus I, 18 (Hercher, p. 149), who repeats with slight variation the passage from Plato referred to above; cf. Theophylactus, Ep. 57 (Hercher, p. 779): εἰ ἐρᾷς μὴ κατηγορεῖ τῆς ἐρωμένης ἀπρέπειαν · οὐ δύναται γὰρ μὴ τυφλώττειν ἐρώσα ψυχή. The fact that these later writers, rhetoricians all of them, merely echo the words of writers of better days is but further proof of the traditional character of the theme; so Nonnus, Dionys. XXXIV, 118, for example, Χαλκομέδην μὲν ἅπαντες, ἐγὼ δέ σε μούνος ἐνύψω / Χρυσομέδην recalls Theocr. X, 26, quoted above; and Battus' remark in this same Idyll, vs. 19: τυφλὸς δ' οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ Πλούτος, / ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠφρόντιστος Ἔρως is repeated by the Byzantine, Nicetas Eugenianus, V, 219: Ἔρως δὲ τυφλός, οὐ γὰρ ὁ Πλούτος μόνος. On the Latin side cf., for example, Auson. Ep. LXXVII: Deformem quidam te dicunt, crispa, . . . mi pulchra es. But how far we are removed from the spirit of Theocritus!

That it was still possible, however, to make fun of the old theme in the graceful fashion of Theocritus is shown by Longus. In Bk. I, 13, of his romance he describes Daphnis as he appears to Chloe who sees him naked for the first time after his bath: ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κόμη μέλαινα καὶ πολλή, τὸ δὲ σῶμα ἐπίκαντον ἡλίφ. Εἰκασεν ἂν τις αὐτὸ χρώζεσθαι τῇ σκιᾷ τῆς κόμης, ἐδόκει δὲ τῇ Χλόῃ θεωμένη καλὸς ὁ Δάφνις, καὶ ὅτι τότε πρῶτον αὐτῇ καλὸς ἐδόκει, τὸ λουτρὸν ἐνόμζε τοῦ κάλλους αἴτιον. Compare ch. 16, where we have a description of Daphnis as he appears to his rival Dorcon, who compares his fair beauty with the dark ugliness of Daphnis: καὶ λευκός εἰμι ὡς γάλα, καὶ πυρρὸς ὡς θέρος μέλλον ἀμᾶσθαι. . . οὗτος δ' ἐστὶ μικρὸς καὶ ἀγένεος ὡς γυνή, καὶ μέλας ὡς λύκος. To this taunt Daphnis replies: Ἀγένεός εἰμι, καὶ γὰρ ὁ Διόνυσος · μέλας, καὶ γὰρ ὁ ὑάκινθος · ἀλλὰ κρείττων καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος σατύρων καὶ ὁ ὑάκινθος κρίνων. Οὗτος δὲ καὶ πυρρὸς ὡς ἀλώπηξ, καὶ προγένεος ὡς τράγος, καὶ λευκὸς ὡς



ἐξ ἄστεος γυνή. Chloe, of course, chooses ¹⁸ Daphnis and just as Love has blinded her to his blemishes and to the charms of another, so to Daphnis it gives a "precious seeing" for, says Longus, ch. 17, in words that recall Shakespeare's: τότε πρῶτον (i. e. after she has kissed him) καὶ τὴν κόμην αὐτῆς ἐθαύμασεν ὅτι ξανθή, καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὅτι μεγάλοι καθάπερ βοός, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὅτι λευκότερον ἀληθῶς καὶ τοῦ τῶν αἰγῶν γάλακτος, ὥσπερ τότε πρῶτον ὀφθαλμοὺς κτησάμενος, τὸν δὲ πρότερον χρόνον πεπρωμένος.

In view of this evidence, therefore, it seems to me that there can be no doubt that the lover's blindness and the satire thereon which held up to ridicule his habit of seeing defects in his beloved as charms, were traditional both in ancient literature and in the schools. Of the further development of the theme, where the satire is put in the mouth of the lover himself who retracts his former praise, ancient literature does not afford many examples. They furnish sufficient evidence, however, to warrant the conclusion that the type was well recognized and traditional in certain spheres.

It is obvious that such satire could not become common, outside the comedy, at least, until there had developed a type of subjective erotic poetry in which a lover sings of his lady's charms, similar, for example, to the sonnet sequences of the 16th century, a type in which, instead of a spontaneous expression of a poet's feelings directed to one real personage, the object of a real passion, passion, person, and expression are more or less feigned, and the product for the most part, if not entirely, artificial and conventional. That conditions during the Alexandrian period were such as to produce this type of poetry there can be no doubt, but we have no written evidence that such a type did develop then. The epigram, however, as handled by Callimachus and his successors and by the writers represented in the Greek Anthology contained the germ of such a poetry, and if we arrange in order the epigrams of Meleager addressed to Zenophile, for example, we have a conventional product not unlike the sonnet sequences,—the beginning of love, description of the lady, effect of love upon the lover, divers sweet adven-

¹⁸ This whole passage is a delightful satire on the beauty contest, itself a literary convention with an interesting history, a study of which I hope to publish shortly.

tures, quarrels, and reconciliations. It remained for the Roman poets, however, to develop this type of subjective erotic poetry, and we can trace its growth from Catullus, who sang songs from the heart to a woman of flesh and blood, to Ovid, whose songs are composed largely of conventional motives and addressed to more or less of a lay figure. In the elegies of Tibullus and Propertius, on the other hand, fact and convention, actual events and merely literary motives are so closely commingled that it is impossible to separate them. Nor does it help toward the solution of the mystery of the latter's affair with Cynthia to find her lover, over whom her beauty never, even after death, lost its spell, implying in III, 24 that that beauty was merely the product of his verse and that his praise of it was false: *Falsast ista tuae, mulier, fiducia formae, / Olim oculis nimium facta superba meis. / Noster amor tales tribuit tibi, Cynthia, laudes: / Versibus insignem te pudet esse meis? / Mixtam te varia laudavi saepe figura, / Ut, quod non esses, esse putaret amor, / Et color est totiens roseo collatus Eoo, / Cum tibi quaesitus candor in ore foret.* It is a curious little poem which the poet must have written, it seems to me, in a playful mood, when, as he looked back upon his liaison with Cynthia, he could smile at a lover's mendacia dulcia; whereas the following poem, XXV, voices the bitterness of the same recollection. The poem, therefore, filled as it is with references to the erotic commonplaces of the elegy, affords a good example of the application of such commonplaces to a real experience.¹⁴

Whence came to Propertius the suggestion for such a retraction it is difficult to say. It may represent the reversal simply of the usual palinode, the most famous example of which was the apology of Stesichorus to Helen¹⁵; or the hint may have come from some epigram or from the comedy. It may be noted that we find such a hint in a fragment of a fabula Atellana by Pomponius:¹⁶ *A peribo, non possum pati. Porcus est quem amare coepi, pinguis non pulcher puer.*

¹⁴ One cannot mention the Roman elegy without feeling renewed grief over the untimely death of Professor Smith. Better than any one else has he interpreted the elegy for us and by his sympathy, his knowledge, his art, Propertius, Tibullus, Ovid have been made to live again.

¹⁵ Cf. Plato, *Phaedr.* 242 D; *Epis.* III, 319 E.

¹⁶ Ribbeck, *Scaen. Poes. Frag.* II, p. 251.



With Propertius' farewell to Cynthia may be compared Ovid's farewell to Corinna, *Am.* III, 12. He realizes that she is not his alone, but confesses that he can blame no one but himself, since by his praise of her in his songs he has led other lovers to her door. But poets are not on oath and he has told many tales that no one believes; *Exit in inmensum fecunda licentia vatum*, he concludes, *Obligat historica nec sua verba fide*; / *Et mea debuerat falso laudata videri* / *Femina: credulitas nunc mihi vestra nocet*. Of the conventional character of this poem there can be no doubt.

Ovid gives us, too, another treatment of this same theme in *Rem. Am.* 311 sq., a passage to which I have referred above. This is, it will be noted, essentially a lover's retraction, and in vv. 311-321 Ovid takes pains to assure his pupil that he has practiced what he preaches. When he himself was sick from love and would fain be cured, he found it helpful to dwell continually on his lady's faults, and he enhances the fun of it all by remarking in parenthesis that the girl was not so ugly as his retraction would make out: '*Quam mala*' dicebam '*nostrae sunt crura puellae!*' / *Nec tamen, ut vere confiteamur, erant*; / '*Brachia quam non sunt nostrae formosa puellae!*' / *Et tamen, ut vere confiteamur, erant*; / '*Quam brevis est*'; nec erat. '*Quam multum poscit amantem*'; / *Haec odio venit maxima causa meo*. / *Et mala sunt vicina bonis*; errore sub illo / *Pro vitio virtus crimina saepe tulit*.

This last bit of wisdom carries us back again into the rhetorical schools, for the truth that *mala sunt vicina bonis* lies at the bottom of much of our wit and humor, and it was, therefore, very thoroughly discussed by the ancient writers on rhetoric under its various aspects as irony, allegory, euphemism, antiphrasis. The best commentary on Ovid is Cicero's discussion of the orator's use of wit in *de Orat.* II, 65, 261, where he deals with fun that may arise from the use of words *quae aut ex immutata oratione ducuntur aut ex unius verbi translatione aut ex inversione verborum*; cf. Quint. VIII, 6, 54. Certain examples of such uses of words no doubt became typical, among them the passage from Juvenal which I have quoted above which is referred to by Isidore of Seville, *Orig.* I, 36, 24, under his treatment of antiphrasis. It was by this avenue, therefore, I think, that the lover's habit of calling defects charms and then

retracting his praise, made its way into the school. That examples of the habit were taken largely from the comedy we may assume; the passage I have quoted from Pomponius is evidence therefor, and a remark of Cicero, l. c. 274, is, I think, conclusive. He gives some examples of *dissimulatio*, cum *honesto verbo vitiosa res appellatur*, one of them, be it noted, concerning an ugly woman, and characterizes such jokes as *subabsurda*, sed . . . *saepe ridicula*, non solum *mimis perapposita*, and as belonging to the genus *mimicum*. The passage which I quoted from Pomponius may, therefore, be considered typical.

In the light of this evidence, then, and I would especially emphasize the words of Cicero, it may not be chance that the earliest examples of the satire on the lover's blindness occur in Plato and Theocritus, in the works of both of whom the mime looms large.¹⁷ The influence of the mime may, of course, be easily exaggerated, but we are sure that the *mimus* was the ancestor of the mediæval *jongleur*, and that from the mime came most of the shorter forms of satiric poetry current in the Middle Ages.¹⁸ It may well be, therefore, that Adam de la Halle, whose *Jeu* certainly possesses all the characteristics of the mime, owed to the tradition of this popular form of drama the suggestion for his retraction if not his material. The latter may have come from Ovid, from the passages which I have quoted above; Adam is, at least, merely carrying out the precepts of the master that the lover who wishes to recover from his sickness,—and Adam did so wish,—should call a spade a spade,—which Adam does. There is, however, no need to assume any one definite source. Such material was common property, traditional, as my examples show, both in school and out.

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¹⁷ Compare Reich, *Der Mimus*, I, pp. 10 sq.; 296 sq.

¹⁸ Compare on this matter, Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Age*, pp. 10 sq.; 214 sq.

IV.—THE TRIAL OF SAINT EUGENIA.

Although the relations of Christian legends to pagan myths and secular fiction engage the interest of a growing number of classical scholars, one of the most interesting and romantic legends of the saints, the story of Eugenia, has not yet, to my knowledge, been brought into connection with a secular story which is its nearest of kin. In this paper it is proposed to set forth this relationship, to discuss certain other stories which are possibly akin, and to consider the origin of some peculiar features of the stories in question.

An outline of the legend of St. Eugenia may be given as follows: In the reign of Commodus a certain Philip was sent from Rome to Alexandria to serve as prefect of that city. He was accompanied by his wife Claudia, his two sons, and his daughter Eugenia. Of Eugenia we are told that she was educated in all the learning of the period, and that she was very beautiful. On reaching womanhood she was sought in marriage by Aquilius, the son of a consul. But she refused the suitor, declaring that her husband should be chosen for his character and not for his high birth. Shortly after this time, the legend relates, some works of the Apostle Paul fell into the hands of the young Eugenia, and she conceived a deep interest in the teachings of Christianity.

At this time Christians were allowed to dwell in the suburbs of Alexandria, though not permitted within the city itself. Desiring to learn more of the new doctrine, Eugenia sought and obtained permission from her parents to visit a rural villa belonging to the family. She set forth upon the journey in the style becoming a young woman of rank; numerous servants attended her, and she was carried in a litter. On the road she heard a band of Christians singing their sacred songs and praising God. The circumstance increased her interest in the Christian doctrine, and she was even then a convert at heart. So she took her two servants, Protus and Hyacinthus, into her confidence, cut off her hair, assumed the dress of a man, and with their assistance contrived to leave the litter secretly at a con-

venient halting-place. The litter, attended by the other servants, went on its way. Meanwhile Eugenia with Protus and Hyacinthus proceeded in a different direction to a gathering of Christians. There she met the celebrated bishop Helenus, who confirmed her in the faith and admitted her to a monastery, which she entered as a man, calling herself Eugenius. In the meantime her absence from the litter had been discovered, and after a vain search her parents mourned her as lost.

In the monastery Eugenia was distinguished for her piety and lowliness of spirit; so much so that when the presiding abbot died Eugenius, in spite of a refusal prompted by humility, was elected to fill his place. Not long after this time a rich widow of Alexandria, named Melanthia, was cured of an illness by the so-called Abbot Eugenius, who visited her and anointed her with holy oil, refusing the gifts which the grateful woman was eager to lavish upon him. Now Melanthia had fallen in love with the young and attractive abbot; so not long afterwards she feigned a second illness and summoned Eugenius to her house. She declared her passion with scant delay, but was rebuffed by the young Christian.

Then Melanthia plays the part of Potiphar's wife. Going to the prefect Philip, she lodges an accusation of assault against the Abbot Eugenius. So Eugenia is brought to trial in the presence of a hostile audience, before Philip her father; and finding other arguments of no avail, she defends herself by an unexpected revelation. Tearing her garments open, she proves her sex to the judge and spectators, and then reveals that she is the daughter of the presiding magistrate. So the family is reunited, and all its members are converted to the Christian faith. The father, Philip, soon suffers martyrdom in Alexandria for his adoption of Christianity. The other members of the family return to Rome, and there after a time they also die the death of martyrs for their missionary work among the people of the great city.

This story is found in three versions which agree in all points essential to the narrative: an Armenian version published by F. C. Conybeare in 1896,¹ a Latin version of uncertain date,

¹ The Apology and Acts of Apollonius, and other Monuments of Early Christianity, London, 1896.

to be found in Rosweyde's *Vitae Patrum*,² and a Greek version in Symeon Metaphrastes' *Lives of the Saints*, composed in the tenth century.³ Of these Symeon's account is the fullest, chiefly because it is full of rhetorical passages and edifying comment; it adds nothing of value to the substance of the Latin version, which is rightly held to be the older. Conybeare has shown good reason for his belief that the Armenian legend is the oldest of the three. Particularly important is the fact that it refers to the history of Thekla as a holy book, and makes it the model which inspired the conversion and flight of Eugenia. Direct imitations of the Acts of Paul and Thekla are not wanting. But the Latin and Greek versions obliterate all references to Thekla, who had become, as Conybeare says, "a somewhat heretical saint." As we have seen, they represent Eugenia as influenced by the writings of Paul.

The events of the story purport to be of the beginning of the third century, but there are anachronisms, and despite the occurrence of historical names, a definite groundwork of historical fact has not been established. Conybeare places the Armenian version about 275 or 280, and the Latin about 400. In any case, Alcimus Avitus, who was bishop of Vienne at the end of the fifth century, cites Eugenia as a shining example of purity under persecution,⁴ and mentions the essential points of the story; so we may assume that it belongs to the period between 200 and 400, which was very fertile in romantic narratives, both secular and religious.

That the legend was originally written in Greek may be regarded as certain. The Latin version translates a passage in which Eugenia plays upon the name of her false accuser, "O Melanthia, nigredinis nomen, et tenebrosa Melanthia"—a pun which would mean nothing to readers unversed in Greek.⁵ The

² Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* 73, pp. 605 ff.

³ Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* 116, pp. 609 ff. I have recently examined the brief life of Eugenia in the *Menologion* of Basil II (*Cod. Vat. Graec.* 1613, p. 270) in the beautiful facsimile published by the Vatican. It offers nothing new except the statement that Eugenia declared herself a eunuch when she entered the monastery. The false accusation and the trial are omitted; but the phrase *διαγνώσθαι καὶ ἀπαγρυσθῆναι* *Φιλίππῳ τῷ πατέρϊ αὐτῆς* plainly refers to those parts of the legend.

⁴ *Patrol. Lat.* 59, 378 B.

⁵ *Ibid.* 73, 614, cf. 612.

same word-play was in the document from which the Armenian version was made.⁶ Another bit of evidence of Greek origin may be detected in Eugenia's use of the word *botri* (*uvæ*), a Hellenism which was never firmly established in Latin.⁷

In further analysis of the story the following points are to be noted:

1. Certain features of the legend, especially Eugenia's refusal of marriage, and her flight and disguise, mark it plainly as belonging to a cycle with Encratic tendencies, of which the Acts of Thekla are the earliest representative, and which is continued by the stories of Pelagia, Marina, Margarita and Anthusa. We have seen that the Armenian version of the story of Eugenia acknowledges the legend of Thekla as its prototype. The question of a pagan source for these legends can not be regarded as settled; certainly Usener's attempt to relate Pelagia-Marina to Aphrodite is unsatisfactory.⁸

2. It will probably be conceded by most critics that the martyrdom of Eugenia and her family is a pious addition to the legend, which originally concluded with the scene of recognition and reunion. Conybeare conjectures that "the earliest text went only so far as ch. 19 inclusive (i. e. the death of Philip and the departure of the rest of the family for Rome), for so far only is the narrative fresh and life-like, and free from chronological inconsistencies."

3. When the matter mentioned in the last two paragraphs is eliminated and due allowance made for the religious atmosphere, we find that the residuum peculiar to the Eugenia-legend consists in a slight story which may be expressed in the following formula: A young woman who has been led by some stress of circumstances to adopt male attire is accused of immoral conduct and obliged, in order to establish her innocence, to disclose her sex to her judges.

⁶ Conybeare, p. 173.

⁷ Patrol. Lat. 73, 617.

⁸ *Legenden der Heiligen Pelagia*, Bonn, 1879. Radermacher's *Hippolytus und Thekla* (Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Sitzb. 182[1916]) is not yet accessible to me, and I can form no adequate idea of the work from a review which I have seen. I hope, however, to show in another study that these legends of the Persecuted Virgin have their nearest analogue in a different myth, which has not yet been brought into relation with them.

Obviously we have to do with a novella. In the adventures of Eugenia and the strange scene in which she reveals her sex Boccaccio might have found a congenial subject to turn into a secular tale couched in his sonorous Tuscan. The dramatic possibilities of the legend, especially the recognition scene in which Eugenia is reunited with her family, have not passed unremarked. The great Spanish dramatist Calderón used the story for the plot of his comedy "El José de las Mujeres"—the Female Joseph. A somewhat fanciful treatment of it occurs in one of Gottfried Keller's *Sieben Legenden*.*

Now to this novella-like nucleus of the legend of Eugenia there is a counterpart in a little-known story which has come down to us through a single channel—a passage in the *Fabulae* attributed to Hyginus (c. 274, *Quis quid invenerit*). The somewhat bald narrative must be quoted in full:

Antiqui quia obstetrices non habuerunt, unde mulieres verecundia ductae interierant (nam Athenienses caverant ne quis servus aut femina artem medicinam disceret) Agnodice quaedam puella virgo concupivit medicinam discere. quae cum concupisset, demptis capillis habitu virili se Herophilo cuidam tradidit in disciplinam. quae cum artem didicisset et feminam laborantem audisset ab inferiore parte, veniebat ad eam. quae cum credere se noluisset existimans virum esse illa tunica sublata ostendebat se feminam esse: et ita eas curabat. quod cum vidissent medici se ad feminas non admitti Agnodicen accusare coeperunt, quod dicerent eum glabrum esse et corruptorem earum et illas simulare imbecillitatem. quod cum Areopagitae consedisent Agnodicen damnare coeperunt. quibus Agnodice tunicam allevavit et se ostendit feminam esse. et validius medici accusare coeperunt. quare tum feminae principes ad iudicium convenerunt et dixerunt: vos coniuges non estis sed hostes, quia quae salutem nobis invenit eam damnatis. tunc Athenienses legem emendarunt ut ingenuae artem medicinam discerent.

If we disregard the second attack upon Agnodice by the jealous physicians, after she had made her sex known, we have left a story very like the nucleus of the legend of Eugenia. Nor has it any stronger claim to credit. The statement that the ancients had no midwives is absurd, of course, and there is no doubt that "wise women" treated minor ailments with impunity, especially among women and children; nor do we hear that the need of female physicians was acutely felt among Greek

*I owe this reference to Professor J. W. Scholl.

women. Another proof of the fictitious character of the story is to be discerned in the name Agnodice, which should doubtless be Hagnodice. The name does not appear elsewhere; and in view of its suggestion, "chaste before judgment," we may regard it as coined to fit the story.

One peculiarity of the story of Agnodice demands notice because of its difference from the corresponding detail in the legend of Eugenia. When Eugenia reveals her sex to the prefect, she tears her garment open from above and shows her breasts—an act involving a momentary abandonment of modesty, but not flagrantly indecent. But the gesture of Agnodice is more drastic, as Hyginus' words show. In this unnecessarily immodest act attributed to the heroine of the pagan story we may find a clue to its origin.

In any case it is probable that the Christian recorder of the Eugenia legend has softened a feature of the story which seemed to him too coarse for use in a piece of edifying literature. An exact parallel to this bowdlerizing may be observed in a Celtic myth to which I shall revert later. It is interesting to note that when Calderón came to treat the story of Eugenia in his drama, he toned the traditional form of it down still more. In the scene where his Eugenia defends herself, she is able to establish her identity and prove her innocence by calling upon judge and spectators to compare her features with a portrait of his long-lost daughter which her father, Philip, has kept, and which hangs in the court-room. Evidently Calderón could not expect the austere Spanish court to look with favor upon a faithful representation of the naive legend of the church.

Peculiar as is the dénouement of the stories of Agnodice and Eugenia, the cautious critic may fairly ask whether we need to seek its origin outside of the data of the stories themselves. When the plot of a story represents the heroine as assuming male dress, must not its development bring about complications which may demand for their resolution ocular demonstration of the woman's sex? Obviously this question must be answered in the affirmative; and here the investigation might rest but for that clue to which I have alluded above, namely that in the older story Agnodice escapes from her jeopardy by an unnecessarily immodest act. Perhaps this circumstance can be best explained if we consider the story to have been suggested by a statue or

figure of some sort representing a woman in the act of uncovering her sexual parts. In other words the story of Agnodice and other kindred narratives stand related as aitia to works of art of the type described.

That such statues or statuettes existed might be safely assumed even in the absence of apposite archaeological material, for reasons which must be stated as briefly as possible. The magical effect of obscene acts and gestures, as well as obscene words (*αισχρολογία*) is now so well known to students of folk-customs as to need no illustration. Symbols and amulets perpetuating such gestures followed as a matter of course. Among the Greeks and Romans there is abundant evidence for the belief in the power of phallos and fascinum not merely to stimulate the reproductive powers of plants and animals, but also to repel evil influences of all kinds. That representations of the female parts and symbols derived from them should have been used in like manner was perhaps to be expected; but certainly the archaeological examples are much less numerous.¹⁰

Greek and Latin authors furnish a good many illustrations of what may be called female sex-magic in connection with agriculture—a form of activity which under primitive conditions of life seems to have belonged particularly to women. Heckenbach has collected evidence bearing upon the subject in his treatise *De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis*.¹¹

A striking example of the apotropæic value attributed to the display of a woman's person is found in a myth recorded by Plutarch.¹² Bellerophon, who had aided Iobates, king of Lycia, in driving the Amazons from his country, had been denied his just reward; whereupon, in answer to Bellerophon's prayer, Poseidon sent a great wave to flood the land. When the Lycian men could not prevail upon Bellerophon to stay the threatened destruction, the women drew up their tunics (*ἀνασυράμεναι τοὺς χιτωνίσκους*) and went to meet the hero, who withdrew abashed, the wave following him. A remarkably close parallel to this

¹⁰ See Jahn in *Berichte der sächs. Ges. der Wiss.*, 1855, pp. 79 f.

¹¹ Pp. 51 ff. An example of woman-magic in agriculture which has escaped some European writers on folk-lore is to be found in Schoolcraft's *Oneota*, p. 83, whence Longfellow derived "Blessing the Corn-fields" (*Hiawatha* XIII).

¹² *Mulierum Virtutes*, p. 248 B.

story exists in an incident of the old Irish epic *Táin Bó Cualnge* (The Cattle-Raid of Cooley).¹³ The youthful hero Cuchulain had defeated all of King Conchobar's champions and was calling for another antagonist when a number of women of the court approached him with the same gesture of exposure that the Lycian women had used against Bellerophon; whereupon the followers of Conchobar were able to subdue the confused young warrior. It is worthy of note that in this Irish narrative, as in the legend of Eugenia, an attempt has been made to soften the harshness of a primitive feature of the story. The incident is given above according to the text of the Book of Leinster; in the other texts the women only bare their breasts before the eyes of Cuchulain.

Another curious instance of the act of exposure as an apotropaic gesture is to be found in a Japanese myth recorded in the *Nihongi*, where the "Terrible Female of Heaven" employs it to confuse a hostile divinity.¹⁴ One may add a reference to Rabelais's grotesque story of the Devil of Papefiguière, whom a country woman put to flight in similar fashion.¹⁵

From Herodotus' account of the *πανάγυρις* at Bubastis (II, 60) it appears that the gesture of *ἀναστυμμός* on the part of the women of the region was a regular part of the proceedings. It was associated with *αἰσχρολογία*, and hence may be regarded as apotropaic in original intention.¹⁶ The interpretation is less certain in Diodorus' account of the acts of the women who attended the new Apis (I, 85, 3). Here also the exposure may have been meant to drive away hostile influences from the presence of the god; but it is at least possible that the purpose of the women may have been to subject their persons to the fertilizing influence of the divinity.¹⁷ Naturally enough the ges-

¹³ J. Dunn's translation, London, 1914, pp. 76 f.

¹⁴ *Nihongi*, translated by W. G. Aston, in Transactions of the Japan Society of London, Supplem. I (1896), p. 77.

¹⁵ Pantagruel IV, 47. The story was borrowed from Rabelais by La Fontaine, Contes, pt. IV, 5.

¹⁶ Similar indecencies in connection with unspecified religious rites are alluded to in a scholium on Lucian Peregr. 13 (Rabe, p. 219, 19).

¹⁷ A missionary who has worked for many years in India reported to me that he once saw a young woman of high caste (Rajput) and noble and scrupulously modest bearing open her garments from neck to ankle, and stand for a few moments in prayer before a *lingam* beside the tank

ture of exposure is sometimes recorded as a mere insult, even where the student may conjecture that an apotropaic purpose was originally present. Hence the stories about the posture in which the Spartan and Persian women received their coward sons.¹⁸ A curious modern instance appears in a story told about the famous Caterina Sforza, the fighting countess of Forlì.¹⁹

Probably akin in origin to such stories as those of Bellephophon and Cuchulain, though less crudely expressed, are certain modern tales in which a beautiful princess confuses or defeats an opponent, whether in a contest of strength or a battle of wits, by unveiling her charms. So, in the Persian story of Calaf and Turandot, Turandot confuses Calaf by unveiling her face just as he is about to answer the last of her riddles;²⁰ in an Avaric tale a princess bares her breast to her antagonist and so overcomes him in wrestling.²¹

The rôle that the gesture of exposure on the part of a woman has played in legend and custom has now been fully demonstrated. It remains to consider briefly its representation in the arts. In searching for an art-type which could have given rise to such a story as that of Agnodice one must begin with certain eliminations. For example, the crude early unclothed figurines which are thought to represent the Oriental Aphrodite belong elsewhere, and so also do certain apotropaic amulets of a much later period, representing nude female figures in obscene postures;²² for such a story as that of Agnodice could relate only to a clothed or partly clothed figure. The Orphic story of Bau-

where she had performed her ablutions. In this case the petition was doubtless for children.

¹⁸ Plut. Lacaen. Apophth., p. 241 B, Mulierum Virt., p. 246 A; Justin, I, 6, 14. The original intent may have been to exorcise the demons of fear, as Reinach remarks in the article cited below.

¹⁹ Lud. Guicciardini, Hore di Recreatione, chapter-heading *Consiglio feminino esser talhora di gran valore*.

²⁰ Pétis de la Croix, Les Mille et Un Jours (ed. of 1785 in *Le Cabinet des Fées*, vol. 14, pp. 227 ff.).

²¹ Schiefner, Awarische Texte, Memoirs of the St. Petersburg Academy, series 7, vol. XIX, 6, p. 67. There is a somewhat similar episode in the Thousand and One Nights (Night 47).

²² Cf. Perdrizet, Bronzes Grecs de la Collection Fouquet, p. 43.

bo, as Reinach has shown,²³ gives evidence for the apotropæic gesture of ἀναστυμός, but the plastic representation of Baubo appears to be limited to some monstrous grotesques which have nothing to do here.²⁴

There are, however, certain figures of Graeco-Egyptian workmanship which seem to provide the archaeological *point d'appui*. In H. B. Walters's Catalogue of Terra Cottas in the British Museum there is described and figured an "hieratic or orientalizing type" of Aphrodite from Naucratis, which has the tunic drawn up in front and the sexual parts exposed.²⁵ In this case the attributes, particularly the headdress, force us to interpret the figure as a goddess or at least a priestess; but there is no reason to suppose that these paraphernalia appeared in all such figures. Another example, probably like that in the British Museum, belonged to the Collection Fouquet, and has not been published, so far as I know. M. Perdrizet refers to it as "Aphrodite ou une hiérodoule faisant le geste de l'ἀνάστυμμα" (ἀναστυμός?).²⁶ Even for the milder gesture of baring the breast there are archaeological parallels of some interest in some small Graeco-Egyptian figures of women seated, with hands raised and breast uncovered. They are regarded as mourners by Schreiber, who has discussed them and supplied illustrations.²⁷

The Egyptian provenance of these figures seems to acquire a certain significance when viewed in connection with the literary evidence surveyed above. Two different authorities attest the occurrence of the gesture of ἀναστυμός in connection with Egyptian custom and ritual. The story of Agnodice has a certain connection with Egypt, although the scene of her trial is laid in Athens; for the heroine is said to have studied under Hero-

²³ Le Rire Rituel, in Cultes, Mythes et Religions, IV, pp. 115 ff. To this admirable article I owe several important references.

²⁴ Cf. Diels, Arcana Cerealia, in *Miscellanea dedicata al Prof. A. Salinas* (Palermo, 1907), pp. 3-14.

²⁵ P. 250, No. C 575, fig. 49.

²⁶ Perdrizet, *op. cit.*, p. 6. Female figures in the same posture were represented on churches in western Europe, and are known to Celtic antiquaries as Sheila-na-Gig. Certain gaps in our library prevent my giving references to first-hand authorities. See, however, Hartland in Hastings's Encycl. of Religion and Ethics, vol. IX, p. 817.

²⁷ Schreiber in *Miscellanea Salinas*, p. 212.

philus of Alexandria,²⁸ and the story comes down to us in a work which is undoubtedly a product of Alexandrian learning. The story of Eugenia up to her reunion with her family is entirely Alexandrian in its setting. It is probable, then, that the primitive novella which may be discerned beneath the stories of Agnodice and Eugenia should be regarded as of Graeco-Egyptian origin, unless an earlier example presents itself elsewhere.

The reader who has followed the discussion thus far may have wondered at the omission of a story which bears a certain resemblance to some that are treated above. That is the story, given apparently on the authority of Hermippus of Alexandria,²⁹ to the effect that when the notorious Phryne was on trial for impiety, Hyperides, her advocate and lover, tore open her tunic and bared her breasts to the eyes of the judges, and successfully appealed to them not to condemn the priestess and servant of Aphrodite. According to another version, it was Phryne herself, unprompted by an advocate, who thus played upon the emotions of the judges. The anecdote is of very doubtful authenticity.³⁰

It may be regarded simply as a cynical narrative illustrating the power of beauty and the weakness of judges, and needing no genetic investigation. On the other hand, in spite of the utter oppositeness of the characters of Phryne on the one hand and Agnodice and Eugenia on the other, there is a point of contact in the stories told about them; for in all three cases the heroine's acquittal is brought about by a sudden disclosure of her body to the view of the judges. Furthermore, if the story of Hyperides' trick was recorded by Hermippus, it may be of Alexandrian origin, and must be of earlier date than the other two stories, since Hermippus flourished about 200 B. C. Whether it is directly related to the Agnodice-Eugenia novella must remain doubtful. Its *ethos* is fairly comparable to that of the story of Turandot, which has been mentioned above, and which may have a longer history than we know.

An attempt has been made by Karl Fries to connect the anecdote

²⁸ I see no sufficient reason for treating *Herophilo* in the text as a general term (= *medico*), as Schmidt suggests.

²⁹ In Athen. XIII, p. 590 E; cf. Hyperides, fr. 178 Blass.

³⁰ Cf. Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*³, III, 2, p. 5.

dote about Phryne with the story of Susanna.³¹ He points out that Susanna, although represented as a virtuous matron, stands alone at her trial: her husband and kinsmen do not aid her. Hence he infers that the prototype of the story represented her as single. In the emphasis laid upon her beauty and upon the circumstance that she is unveiled before the judges he finds another parallel to the trial of Phryne, in spite of the fact that the unveiling of Susanna is described as an outrage on the part of the elders. Combining the two stories, Fries would trace their origin to the cult of a goddess of the type of Ishtar and Aphrodite—a divinity whose mystic veil it was dangerous to lift. The argument is ingenious rather than convincing, and I see no reason to bring the story of Susanna into connection with the others examined in this paper. Such a connection, it is true, would become more plausible if the Graeco-Alexandrian origin of the History of Susanna were fully established; but upon this point opinions differ, and competent authorities, such as Charles and Oesterley, hold that the book was composed in the Hebrew language and set down in Jerusalem, or at least in Palestine. The unveiling of Susanna, however rudely performed, seems to be adequately accounted for by the Jewish regulations concerning the trial of an adulterous woman.³²

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³¹ *Oriental. Literaturzeitung*, XIII, pp. 337 ff. Fries does not mention the stories of Agnodice and Eugenia.

³² Numbers V, 18, and Tractate Sota I, 5 (*Babylonischer Talmud* übersetzt von A. Wünsche, II, 1, p. 248); *Midrasch Bemidbar Rabba* (Wünsche), p. 183.

V.—A NOTE ON THE LINGUISTIC AFFINITIES OF ARDHAMĀGADHĪ PRAKRIT.

Lüders, in his important *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Dramen*, has attempted to show that the dialect of the Gobam- is the precursor of Ardhāmāgadhī, and that the former dialect is to all intents and purposes identical with the Māgadhan dialect of the Asokan inscriptions; and consequently the dialect of the Gobam- and the Asokan Māgadhan are called "Old Ardhāmāgadhī" by him. He also holds that Old Ardhāmāgadhī is nearer to Māgadhī than the later Ardhāmāgadhī is; and that the later Ardhāmāgadhī has a tendency to be levelled by the western dialects. He also cites E. Müller's earlier attempt to connect Ardhāmāgadhī with the Asokan Māgadhan, but gives a reference to Pischel who finds that Müller's parallels are not of such a nature to especially connect the two with the exception of the loc. sing. of *a* stems, -amsi. It should be mentioned that Pischel (see section 17 of his *Grammatik*) holds that it is possible that at the council at Valabhī or Mathurā the original dialect may have acquired a more western color, but that this coloring can not have been very considerable.

A study such as Lüders has undertaken is fascinating; and although I must dissent from the proposition that Ardhāmāgadhī is a direct descendant from Asokan Māgadhan, I think it quite certain that Ardhāmāgadhī is such a descendant from a dialect that agreed with Asokan Māgadhan in some important respects. And to judge from the fragments, the dialect of the Gobam- is for all intents and purposes the same as Asokan Māgadhan.

The difficulties in investigating the linguistic position of Ardhāmāgadhī are considerable. Almost all the Ardhāmāgadhī texts are very badly edited, and hence can not be used for linguistic purposes without the utmost caution. And it is patent that the language of even well-edited texts does not represent a dialect spoken at any one time or place. This is shown by such doublets as Amg. chitta, khitta = Sanskrit kṣetra; karisāmi, karēssam, cf. Skt. kariṣyāmi; āyā, appā = Skt. ātmā; attāṇam, āyāṇam, appāṇam = Skt. ātmānam; bārasa, duvālasa = Skt. dvādaśa. It seems to me that the indispensable pre-

liminary to the final solution of the linguistic affinities of Ardhamāgadhī is the determination of the characteristics of the dialect in which the texts were first written or handed down; and secondly we should know to precisely what dialects doublets should be assigned. I do not see how we may ignore Jaina Saurasenī, the language of the non-canonical works of the Digambara sect, in such an investigation. But the specimens we have of Jaina Saurasenī are few in number. The little that we have however shows that it differs not inconsiderably from Ardhamāgadhī, though it clearly belongs with this as opposed to other dialects, taking every thing into consideration. At the same time it is very clear that Jaina Saurasenī as we have it today is not a uniform dialect, and, like Ardhamāgadhī, does not represent a dialect spoken at any one time or place. The doublets given by Pischel in his *Grammatik*, section 21, are sufficient to show this.

To complicate matters the language of the verses in Ardhamāgadhī is not exactly like that of the prose. Furthermore the other Prākṛit dialects are not absolutely uniform. And only a few texts are edited in a truly critical manner. [Pischel's wonderful grammar is an aid in establishing the correct forms of the dialects in poorly edited texts.] However, the agreement of Ardhamāgadhī and Jaina Saurasenī on any given point certainly points to an old formation. Only, it should be noted that Amg. and JŚ. at times share the same doublets. Thus JŚ. ādā corresponds exactly to Amg. āyā (Skt. ātmā), but appā (Skt. ātmā) is common to both. It is probably not usually possible to know whether such dialect-mixture is old or not till we have numerous well-edited texts in Amg. and JŚ. Nor can we expect to assign each of the doublets to the dialect to which it properly belongs until these conditions are fulfilled.

In the specific case given above it is quite clear that appā is to be charged to the influence of Māhārāṣṭrī, for appā is the only form found in Māhārāṣṭrī. Pischel gives attā for Saurasenī and Māgadhī.¹ The fact that Rājaśekhara uses appā in Sau-

¹ However in a footnote he says that in the Śakuntalā, ed. Pischel 1877, at 104.4 appā is to be read with MS I. I confess that I do not understand why. He reads attā in his edition; and, contrary to the proverb, his second thoughts are not wisest; for if attā be the correct form in Ś. and Mg. it should be read everywhere. To complicate matters observe he cites attā in his grammar at Śak. 104.4.

rasenī [e. g. in the *Karpuramañjarī*, ed. Konow, at i. 8.¹] proves nothing because it has been shown that Rājasekhara is very inexact in Saurasenī: see Konow, p. 199 et seq.; Pischel, section 22. [Neither Konow nor Pischel have noted this particular violation of Saurasenī on the part of Rājasekhara.] A study of the various forms given by Pischel section 401 (see also section 277) irresistibly leads one to the conclusion that the forms with pp throughout the declension are alone correct in Māhārāṣṭrī; as Pischel says, appaṇo is probably everywhere to be read for attaño: the manuscripts have variant readings for attaño, save that Konow reports none for attaño in Rājasekhara's *Karpuramañjarī*; here again the author is more responsible for the false form than the manuscripts. In my judgment appaṇā in Saurasenī is a false form for attañā. Pischel gives but a single citation for it in this dialect, and that in the *Vikramorvaśī*, ed. Bollensen 1846; as Pischel has said, Bollensen's edition of *Mālavikāgnimitra*, 1879, is wretched; and it may be that his edition of the *Vikramorvaśī* is no better: certainly no dialect would have pp in the instrumental singular, but tt elsewhere. [For some reason or other Pischel has neglected to cite tt forms in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī; yet they occur as can be seen in the vocabulary to Jacobi's *Erzählungen* as well as the grammatical sketch.]

In spite of the difficulties outlined above I think we are in a position to make some tentative suggestions regarding the linguistic affiliations of *Ardhamāgadhi*. The striking points of resemblance to Asokan *Māgadhan* are final -e in the nominative singular of *a* stems and the use of dental n initially and dental nn medially. It will be remembered that on the inscriptions nn is only graphical for nn. And it will also be recalled that both n and nn have various origins, e. g. *Ardhamāgadhi*, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī *anna*, Asokan *Māgadhan* *aṇṇa*, Māhārāṣṭrī, Saurasenī *aṇṇa*, *Māgadhi* *añña*,² Pāli *añña*, Gīrnār *aṇṇa* (i. e. *añña*), Shābhāzgarhi *aṇṇa*, Shābhāzgarhi and Mansehra *aña* (both graphical for *añña*) = Sanskrit *anya*; Asokan *Māgadhan* *pumna*,

¹ Pischel gives *aṇṇa* for *Māgadhi* which violates the rules of the native grammarians according to which *ny* becomes *ñi* in *Māgadhi*; note however *Māgadhi* *aññadiśam* (Skt. *anyadiśam*) cited by him; the manuscripts of dramas are at fault as is usually the case in *Māgadhi*. From *Paśāci* *aññātisa*, cited by Pischel, *añña* may be given for that dialect.

Māhārāṣṭrī puṇṇa, Māgadhi puṇṇa, Paisācī puṇṇa, Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra puṇa (i. e. puṇṇa), Gīrnār puṇṇa (i. e. puṇṇa), Pāli puṇṇa = Sanskrit puṇya. The alleged parallel of Amg. -aṃsi, the loc. sing. of *a* stems, with Asokan Māgadhan, -asi is false, because -asi is graphical for -assi, and not for -aṃsi. If -aṃsi were intended it would be written so, whereas the regular writing is -asi. It will be recalled that in inscriptions single consonants are used for geminated ones. As to the use of *l* for *r* in Ardhamāgadhi (it is regular in Asokan Māgadhan, Māgadhi, Dhakkī,³ and probably Pāñcāla), it occurs also in other Prākṛit dialects and also in Pāli, though not as frequently as in Ardhamāgadhi. But consider the enormous number of cases in which *r* remains in Ardhamāgadhi as compared with the comparatively few cases in which it becomes *l*. Does Lüders wish to imply that everywhere we find *r* in Ardhamāgadhi for *l*, that the *r* is really foreign to the dialect and is due to a western dialect? The western influence would of course be Māhārāṣṭrī. But Pischel has shown that the fundamental character of Ardhamāgadhi has not been affected by Māhārāṣṭrī.

In connection with the proposition that Ardhamāgadhi is a direct descendant from Asokan Māgadhan, we should take into consideration that various other Middle Indic dialects are not direct descendants of any Asokan dialects. For example Pāli is not. It has some very striking features in common with the Gīrnār dialect, others with the dialects of Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra, one with the dialects of Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra and Siddāpurā, and others with Asokan Māgadhan. At the same time it has features of its own not represented by any Asokan dialect (e. g. the gerund in -tvā retains *tv*). See Michelson, Transactions of the American Phil. Ass. XL, p. 28, footnote 1.

In the same way Saurasenī is derived from a dialect that did not coincide exactly with any of the Asokan dialects.⁴ Thus it shares the *dh* of *idha* with Gīrnār, also *iminā* as far as formation is concerned (G. *iminā*); the sound *r* with Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra; the change of *ly* to *ll* with G. Shb. Mans.; *aham* with G. Shb. Mans.; the initial *bh* of *bhodi* and *bhūda* with G. Shb. Mans. (G. *bhavati*, Shb. Mans. *bhoti*, Asokan

³ According to Grierson Takki.

⁴ As is known, Lüders derives Saurasenī from his Old Saurasenī.

Māgadhan hoti; G. Shb. Mans. bhūta [written bhuta in Shb. and Mans.], Asokan Māgadhan hūta); -o in the nom. sing. of *a* stems with G. Shb.; the genitive singular maha with Shb. and Mans. (Mans. maa); the contraction of *ava* to *o* in *bhodi* with Shb. Mans. and Asokan Māgadhan; the change of *viy* and *vy* to *vv* with Shb. Mans. (Girnār *vy*; Asokan Māgadhan *viy* in both cases; Kālsī *viy* and *vy* respectively); the change of *st* to *tth* with Asokan Māgadhan (written *th* in the latter); the retention of the first *a* in *osadha* as well as the dental *dh* with Asokan Māgadhan (G. *osudha*); the change of *sth* and *ṣṭh* to *tth* and *ṭṭh* respectively with Asokan Māgadhan (written *th* and *ṭh* respectively); the formation of the instrumental *pidunā* with Shb. and Mans. (*pituna*, i. e. *pitunā*; Asokan Māgadhan *pitinā*; Girnār *pitṛā*); the assimilation of *r* to all conjoint consonants with Asokan Māgadhan. To these should be added the change of *kṣ* to *kkh*, *kh* initially, with Asokan Māgadhan; to judge from the material presented by Pischel sections 317-322, there are only two Saurasenī words⁵ with *cch* for *kṣ*, namely, *acchi* and *riccha*: note that in each case there is a Saurasenī doublet with *kkh* (*akkhi*, *rikkha*) and that in each case Māhārāṣṭrī has *cch* (*acchi*, *riccha*); that Saurasenī often has *kkh* (*kh-*) where Māhārāṣṭrī has *cch* (*ch-*), e. g. *khīra*, M. *chīra*, Skt. *kṣīra*; *khēṭṭa*, M. *chēṭṭa*, Skt. *kṣetra*; *kukkhi*, M. *kucchi*, Skt. *kuṣi*. Either Māhārāṣṭrī has influenced Saurasenī owing to its literary supremacy or the manuscripts of dramas are to be corrected. [On revision I observe that Pischel reports that Rājasekhara uses *chuhā* in Saurasenī for ordinary *khuhā* (Māhārāṣṭrī *chuhā*, Skt. *kṣudhā*) according to Konow's edition of the Karpūramañjarī; as Konow reports no variants, his manuscripts compel him to adopt this reading; the Bombay ed. has *khuhā*; if *chuhā* is accepted it is simply another of Rājasekhara's blunders.] That Saurasenī has features of its own which are not

⁵ Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 321, evidently rejects Saurasenī *pecchadi* allowed by Mārkaṇḍeya: see Hultzsch, ZDMG. LXVI, 719. Pischel gives as correspondents to Sanskrit *prekṣate* Māhārāṣṭrī, Ardhmāgadhi, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī *pecchai*, Amg. and JM. also *picchai*, Jaina Saurasenī *pecchadi*, Saurasenī *pekkhadi*, Māgadhi *pekkadi*. See § 84. If we dared to assume that Mārkaṇḍeya used Digambara texts as a source for his rules on Saurasenī in the same way that Hemacandra did, as shown by Pischel, the anomaly would vanish.

found in the Asokan dialects but which are not merely due to later sound-changes goes without saying, e. g. the extensive use of the gerund in -ia.

Similarly Māgadhi is not a direct descendant from any Asokan dialect. It shares -e in the nom. sing. of *a* stems, l for r, the assimilation of r in conjoint consonants (with some exceptions, e. g. valīsa, Asokan Māgadhan vassa, written vasa, Skt. varṣa) with Asokan Māgadhan; it shares the contraction of *ava* to *o* in bhodi with Asokan Māgadhan, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra; it has in common with Girnār especially idha (Shb. ia, Asokan Māgadhan hida, Skt. iha), the *a* of daḍha (Asokan Māgadhan diḍha, Skt. dṛḍha), the change of ṣṭh to st, the formation of iminā; with G. Shb. Mans. the retention of st, the change of sth to st, the initial bh of bhodi (Shb. Mans. bhoti, Girnār bhavati, Asokan Māgadhan hoti), the formation of the instrumental laññā (G. rāññā, Shb. raññā, Pāli raññā, Saurasenī raṇṇā, Ardhamāgadhi and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī rannā and raṇṇā, JM. also rāññā, Paisaci rāññā and rācinā, Asokan Māgadhan lājinā, Skt. rājñā); with Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra the change of j to y (see JAOS. XXX, p. 83), and the formation of piduṇā (Shb. Mans. pituṇā, Asokan Māgadhan pitinā, Girnār pitrā). That it had features not held by any Asokan dialect is shown by taśṣim (Skt. tasmin, Saurasenī tassim, Māhārāṣṭrī, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, and Jaina Saurasenī tammi, Ardhamāgadhi tamsi, tammi, tammi, Asokan Māgadhan tasi, i. e. tassi, Girnār and Pāli tamhi, Pāli tasmim; we may infer that Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansehra had taspī); the nom. acc. pl. of neuter *a* stems in -āim; smi (Skt. asmi, Asokan Māgadhan sumi); numerous gerunds in -ia. I have particularly not mentioned the use of ś and śś as distinguishing Māgadhi from any Asokan dialect because in point of fact there are traces of a dialect having these characteristics, note Kālsī taśī, i. e. taśśī, śiyā, paśavati; Bairat śvage. Lüders, l. c., considers that many of the characteristic phonetic shifts of Māgadhi are secondary, and derives Māgadhi from a dialect in the Bruchstücke which he in turn correlates with the dialect of the Rāmgār inscription, and names the dialect Old Māgadhi. As the Rāmgār inscription has ś but lacks certain features of Māgadhi he holds these late; some may be, but not all: as I have shown above some features occur in non-Māgadhan Asokan dialects; so we must consider them old. This makes me hesitate in

supposing all the peculiar features of Māgadhī as secondary. We must rather assume a number of Māgadhan dialects; that one or more of these resembled Asokan Māgadhan more closely than Māgadhī does is quite certain. There was even a dialect in which ṣ for s occurred (Kālsī; Māgadhisms have largely wiped out the original state of affairs). Hence I can not acquiesce in Lüders' derivation of Māgadhī from his Old Māgadhī.

Again, Māhārāṣṭrī is derived from a dialect that did not coincide exactly with any Asokan dialect. Observe that with the Gīrnār dialect it shares the *a* of the first syllable of *daḍha* (Asokan Māgadhan *diḍha*), the formation of the dative singular of *a* stems (*-āa*, Gīrnār *-āya*; Asokan Māgadhan, Shb. Mans. *-āye* [naturally written *-aye* in Shb. and Mans.]), the words *tārisa*, *eārisa* (a late transformation of *etārisa*); with Gīrnār, Shb. *o* in the nom. sing. of *a* stems (originally so in Mans. but wiped out in favor of Māgadhan *-e*); with G. Shb. Mans. the change of *ly* to *ll*, the loc. sing. of *a* stems in *e*, the pronoun *ahaṃ*; with Shb. and Mans. the formation of the inst. sing. *piṇṇā* (Shb. Mans. *pituna*, i. e. *pitunā*; Asokan Māgadhī *pitinā*; Gīrnār *pitrā*); with Asokan Māgadhan the ordinary assimilation of *r* in conjoint consonants, the change of *st* and *sth* to *tth* (written of course in inscription *th*), the change of *ṣṭ* and *ṣṭh* to *ṭṭh* (written *ṭh* in inscriptions). That Māhārāṣṭrī is derived from a dialect that had features not found in any Asokan dialect is shown by *tammi* (Gīrnār *tamhi*, Asokan Māgadhan *tasi*, etc.: see above), *pp* for *tm* in *appā* (Skt. *ātmā*), gerunds in *-uṇā*. Māhārāṣṭrī shows numerous doublets which are due to dialect-mixture. Note that *cc*h for *kṣ* occurs quite frequently (e. g. *acchi*, Skt. *akṣi*, *vaccha*, Skt. *vṛkṣa*, etc.) though as can be seen from Pischel's collections *kkh* is more common. Rarely the same word has both forms. The forms with *cc*h of course are to be associated with the dialects of Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra. At first blush one might associate the forms with *kkh* with Asokan Māgadhan, but it is quite certain that at least one *r* dialect had the change of *kṣ* to *kkh* (*kh* initially): witness *Ardhamāgadhī*, *Sauraseni*, *Māhārāṣṭrī*, *Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī*, *Pāli rukkhā*, *Asokan Māgadhan lukha* (i. e. *lukkha*), *Mansehra rucha* (i. e. *ruccha*), *Vedic rukṣa*, *Māhārāṣṭrī*, *Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī*, *Ardhamāgadhī*, *Sauraseni*, *Pāli rakkhassa*, *Sanskrit rākṣasa*; etc. [Pischel's alleged law governing the use of *cc*h and *kkh* is en-

tirely untenable: see Michelson, JAOS. XXX, p. 88 and the literature cited there.]

The bearing the above has on the origin of Ardhamāgadhi is this: we have shown that Pāli and a number of Prākṛit dialects presuppose early Middle Indic dialects that do not coincide exactly with any Asokan dialects; this furnishes a theoretical possibility that Ardhamāgadhi is derived from an early Middle Indic dialect that does not coincide exactly with any Asokan dialect. The only question is whether any actual proof can be given to substantiate the theoretical possibility. In spite of the difficulties which attend a linguistic study of Ardhamāgadhi (see above), I think there is material enough to prove it.

It is easy to show that Ardhamāgadhi, as we have it in existing texts, contains elements derived from early Middle Indic dialects that do not coincide exactly with any Asokan dialects. Examples proving this are *darisaṇa*, *daṃsaṇa* (Sanskrit *darśana*, Shb. Mans. *draśana* [i. e. *darśana*], G. *dasana* [i. e. *dassana*], Asokan Māgadhan *dasana* [i. e. *dassana*; Pāli *dassana*]); *varisa* (Skt. *varṣa*, Shb. Mans. *vaṣa*, Gīrnār *vāsa*, Asokan Māgadhan *vasa* [i. e. *vassa*, Pāli *vassa*]); *karissanti* (Skt. *kariṣyanti*; per contra Shb. *kaṣaṃti*, G. *kāsaṃti* = **karṣyanti*; on Māgadhan *kachaṃti* see Michelson JAOS. XXXVI, 211). It is also possible to show agreements now with one Asokan dialect, now another. Some striking features in common with the Asokan Māgadhan dialect have been given above. To these could be added the change of *st* and *sth* to *tth*; that of *ṣṭ* and *ṣṭh* to *ṭṭh* (written of course *th* and *ṭh* in the inscriptions respectively); the assimilation of *r* in conjoint consonants; *kkh* for *kṣ*; *h* in *hoi* (Sanskrit *bhavati*, Asokan Māgadhan *hoti*, Shb. Mans. *bhoti*, Gīrnār *bhavati*); etc. With the Kālsī dialect it shares the *i* of *giha* (Skt. *grha*, Asokan Māgadhan and Māhārāṣṭrī *gaha*). With Gīrnār it has the first *a* of *daḍha* (Skt. *ḍṛḍha*, Gīrnār *daḍha*, Asokan Māgadhan *diḍha*), uncontracted *ava* in *bhavai* (G. *bhavati*), *tārisa*, *ghara*; with Gīrnār, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra the sound *r*, *cc*h for *kṣ* (e. g. *accha*, Skt. *ṛkṣa*; initially *ch* as in *chitta*, Skt. *kṣetra*), etc. These show the diverse relationships of Ardhamāgadhi in principle, but are too few in number to completely upset Lüders' theory that Ardhamāgadhi is derived from Asokan Māgadhan; for apologists for this view will make use of assumed loan-words from other dialects (and

some can not be altogether denied) to support their case. The following are so numerous and fundamental characteristics of Ardhamāgadhī which differ from Asokan Māgadhan radically, that it is not possible to regard the former as derived from the latter:—the change of viy and vy to vv (Shb. Mans. vv, Girnār vy, Asokan Māgadhan viy in both cases, Kālsī viy and vy respectively), the change of ly to ll (Shb. Mans. G. ll [written l], Asokan Māgadhan yy [? written y]), iha (Sanskrit iha, Shāhbāzgarhi ia, Girnār idha, Asokan Māgadhan hida), evaṃ (Girnār, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra; Asokan Māgadhan hevaṃ), emeva (Asokan Māgadhan hemeva), puvva (Asokan Māgadhan puluva, Skt. pūrva), the instrumental piṇā (Shb. Mans. pituna, i. e. pitunā, Girnār pitrā, Asokan Māgadhan pitinā), the instrumental rannā raṇṇā (Skt. rājñā, Shb. raña, G. rāñā, Pāli raññā, Māgadhi laññā, Saurasenī raṇṇā, Paisācī raññā, Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī rannā raṇṇā, Asokan Māgadhan lājinā, JM. also rāinā, P. also rāciñā), ayaṃ as a neuter (G. ayaṃ; Asokan Māgadhan iyaṃ), ayaṃ as feminine (Girnār; Asokan Māgadhan iyaṃ), loc. sing. -amsi (Asokan Māgadhan -asi, i. e. -assi, Girnār -amhi, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansehra -aspi), ahaṃ (Skt. aham, G. Shb. Mans. ahaṃ, Asokan Māgadhan hakaṃ), amsi (Skt. asmi, Asokan Māgadhan sumi), the favorite gerund in -ttā (Sanskrit -tvā, Girnār -tpā), the gerund in -ttānaṃ (for -tvānaṃ), etc. It should be added that Ardhamāgadhī has nothing corresponding to the characteristic Asokan Māgadhan cu “but,” munisa “man,” kacchati (written kachati) “he will do,” -ehaṃ as the termination of the first person singular of the optative.

We have come to a negative result. Ardhamāgadhī can not be the direct descendant of Asokan Māgadhan nor of any other Asokan dialect now known.*

Addition May 24, 1920.—It is not at all likely that many of the doublets of Ardhamāgadhī were part and parcel of the actual spoken language as is the case with at least certain living Indo-Aryan vernaculars; the evidence of the Asokan dialects opposes such a view; the doublets are far more likely due to faulty transmission of the texts. The fact that lacchī (Skt.

*I have practically ignored the Asokan dialects of Siddāpurā and Rūpnāth in the above paper, because Māgadhisms are so prevalent in the inscriptions. Both were r dialects.

lakṣmī) is found in M., Amg., JM., JŚ., Ś., D., Ā. but always lakṣhaṇa (Skt. lakṣmaṇa) in M., JM., Ś. shows that some real borrowings must be assumed for the Prākṛit dialects.—Pischel, § 277 says appa- (Skt. ātman-) is common in Ś. and Mg. only in the nom. sing., but gives no examples. I still think attā alone correct for Ś. and Mg.—The Sānchi stūpa and Bharhut inscriptions show that in the 3d and 2d centuries B. C. there were Indo-Aryan vernaculars which did not coincide exactly with any of the Asokan dialects. See numbers 12, 94, 138, 334, 338, 342 of the former (Tope 1, ed. Bühler in EI. II) and numbers 23, 25, 26, 41, 94, 115 of the latter (ed. Hultzsch in ZDMG. XL).

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VI.—TULLIANA.

1. *triumviris*, *Ad Att.* XVI, 11, 1.

Atque utinam eum diem videam cum ista oratio (i. e. Philippica II) ita libere vegetur . . . Sed illo tempore opus est *quod fuit illis III viris*. Moriar nisi facete, *Att.* XVI. 11, 1. The joke of Atticus, contained apparently in the words *illis III viris*, has been diligently sought by all commentators since Manutius, but, so far as I can discover, in vain, though Cicero had a good laugh over it. The futile emendations and attempts at elucidation are indicated by Tyrrell and Purser who repeat the pessimistic conclusion of the Aldine commentator: Hoc sine epistola Attici non licet nobis divinare,—advice which is needlessly discouraging. The solution in fact lies quite on the surface.

Our letter is an answer to Atticus' comment upon specific passages of the Second Philippic, which was just being corrected for publication. The point of the joke lies in a play upon the word *III viris*, here not the obvious *triumviri*, but *the three husbands* of Fulvia. To see the point one has only to remember two passages in the oration under discussion in which Cicero suggested that Antony, the third husband of Fulvia, might be expected to meet the same fate as the previous ones, Clodius and Curio. The first is *Phil.* II, 11: Quis autem meum consulatum praeter te Publiumque Clodium qui vituperaret inventus est? Cuius quidem tibi fatum, sicut C. Curioni, manet, quoniam id (i. e. Fulvia) domi tuae est *quod fuit illorum* utrique fatale. The second is *ibid.* 113: Etenim ista tua minime avara conjunx . . . nimium diu debet populo Romano *tertiam pensionem*.

The passage, therefore, has no reference to the triumvirs (Watson) nor to the three Antonii (Gronovius) nor to supposed "husbands of three wives!" (Boot). And best of all, the text needs none of the proposed emendations. The meaning is simply this: I hope to see the day when my oration may be published. But we must bide the time when Antony meets the fate that has already come to those other two of these three husbands. Moriar nisi facete!

2. The date of the Vatinian law.

Professor Sage in a careful essay on the date of the Vatinian law (A. J. P. 1918, 367 ff.) reaches the novel conclusion that Caesar did not have a province assigned him until late in his consulship. He bases his argument chiefly upon Suetonius' list of events, which he considers chronological in the main, and upon aprioristic considerations of what must have seemed a politically prudent course for Caesar to pursue in the year 59. What was politically expedient cannot now well be determined since we hardly know the day-to-day shifting of the battle-line between Caesar and the Senate. Doubtless Caesar secured himself the proconsulship of Gaul as soon as he possibly could after the death of the incumbent Metellus Celer. The argument based upon Suetonius' order of exposition is also weak. In this very list Suetonius has demonstrably placed the adoption of Clodius and the marriage of Caesar as well as that of Pompey too late. Indeed Suetonius employed in his historical biographies the method of composition that had been developed by Alexandrian literary biographers, according to which the material was blocked out not in chronological order but according to associated topics (Leo, *Die griech.-röm. Biogr.*).

The reasons for believing that the Vatinian law was passed near the first of March are as follows: 1) Caesar's first quinquennium ended on the last of February, 54 B. C. (Cic. *de Prov. Cons.* 37, Hardy, *Jour. Phil.* 1918, 176). This very strongly implies that Caesar secured the province about March 1, 59. 2) Metellus Celer, the preceding governor, died early in 59 (the augurship vacated by his death was being canvassed for in April, as Professor Sage notes). It is not likely that Caesar neglected for long to seize the prize. 3) Caesar promised Cicero a *legatio* under himself by June. Mr. Sage has noticed this (p. 378), but has not seen the full bearing of the passage. *Ad Att.* II, 18, 3 shows that the province of Caesar is known, and that it is so near the city that the legatus will be able to visit the city at pleasure (*adsim cum velim*). 4) Vatinus was the tool of Caesar in carrying the law, and the hatred he incurred in forcing the measure through seems to be referred to as early as April (*Ad Att.* II, 9, 3). 5) An army of Caesar is mentioned in May (*Ad Att.* II, 16, 2). It will not do to assume that this is any

proconsular army that Caesar may later acquire. The context shows that an army already available is meant. What this was we can understand only if Caesar had already taken command over the levies which had been recruited by Metellus during the past year with a view to meeting the Helvetians (*Ad Att.* I, 19, 2, March 60). Indeed Caesar's great haste to secure for himself the Gallic province immediately after Metellus' death was determined in part by the knowledge that this command would place at his disposal strong bands of soldiers at Rome with which he could at an emergency over-awe the senate. We must, therefore, revert to Mommsen's view that the Vatinian law was passed about March first, 59 B. C.

3. *Falsum*, *Ad Att.* I, 16, 10.

Surgit pulchellus puer, obiicit mihi me ad Baias fuisse. *Falsum*, sed tamen quid hoc? Simile est, inquam, quasi in operto dicas fuisse (*Ad Att.* I, 16, 10). Manutius proposed *salsum*, apparently to suit the tone of the context, since he had no means of knowing whether Clodius' charge was true or false. Since his day the scholia Bobiensia have come to light containing fragments of the speech that was later refurbished and published (*In Clod. et Cur.* Stangl, p. 88). The fragments are full enough to show that Cicero did not deny the charge of having been at Baiae, and the scholiast who had the full speech before him implies by his comment that Cicero referred to an estate on the bay of Naples. The scholiast, to be sure, has the well-known *Puteolanum* in mind which in fact had not yet been acquired in 61 B. C. Cicero, however, seems to have procured the villa at Pompeii at about this time. At any rate he mentions visiting his *Pompeianum* not long after (*Ad Att.* I, 20, 1). It is likely, therefore, that Clodius' taunt was based upon accurate information; that Cicero, whose style of living after his consulship had awakened no little comment, had recently purchased, or was on the point of purchasing, the new villa on the fashionable bay, and that Clodius had somehow discovered the fact. If Clodius was on the right scent, Cicero could not have written *falsum* to Atticus who knew the facts. *Salsum*¹ has the added advantage

¹ Cf. Catullus, 12, 4: *salsum*. O and R read *falsum al' salsum*, G has *salsum al' falsum*. Ibid. 14, 15 *salse*. The Oxford ms. reads *false*, R reads *false al' salse*, G has *salse al' false*.

of providing a perfectly clear meaning for the much discussed *sed tamen quid hoc* which follows. The meaning of the whole passage seems to be: He taunts me with visiting Baiae. *Clever* of him, but *was my answer less so*?² 'One would suppose I had been in hiding as you have'?

4. Curtius Postumus.

In an erudite essay on Cicero's interesting client, the adventuresome business-man Rabirius Postumus, Dessau suggested a few years ago (*Hermes*, 1911, 613 ff.) that Rabirius—whose name before adoption was C. Curtius Postumus—was probably the same man as the Curtius Postumus who is frequently mentioned as a candidate for political honors in Cicero's letters. Dessau's authority is naturally such that his suggestion has been widely accepted as an established fact. The question is important not only in the interpretation of several passages but also in the understanding of Caesar's social policies. It may, therefore, be worth while to point out that the proposed identification is probably incorrect, and that we should return to the old view (cf. Muenzer, *Pauly-Wissowa*, IV, 1869) which identifies this later Curtius Postumus not with C. Rabirius (C. Curtius) Postumus, but with M. Curtius Postumus for whom Cicero secured a military post with Caesar in 54 B. C.

Rabirius, as will be remembered, became in 55 B. C. superintendent of Ptolemy's revenues for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of the king's bondholders, Caesar, Pompey, Gabinius and others. In 54 he was brought to trial for his share in Gabinius' misdoings, defended by Cicero, and probably banished, since he disappeared from view until after the outbreak of the Civil War. There is only one undoubted reference to him later: the *Bell. Africanum*, 8, relates that in 47 Caesar sent him on a commission to Sicily to procure grain for the army in Africa. He is there still called Rabirius, and still identified with business and not with politics.

M. Curtius Postumus, for whom Cicero procured a military tribuneship with Caesar in 54 (*Ad Quint. Fr.* II, 13, 3, and III,

²Cf. Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* Quid refert si hoc ipsum salum illi . . . videbatur? The passage in question if filled out would read: *sed tamen quid hoc (tibi videtur)?*

1, 10) was of course not Rabirius. His praenomen is Marcus, and if one should care to question the text, chronological considerations are sufficient to guard us from confusing the two men. This M. Curtius remained a partizan of Caesar's throughout; for after Caesar's murder he rebuked Cicero for showing joy at the deed (*Ad Att.* XIV, 9).

Now to consider the Curtius Postumus (praenomen not given) under discussion, like M. Curtius Postumus he was a partizan of Caesar's. At the opening of the Civil War he came down with Caesar and soon visited Cicero, boasting of Caesar's successes [*Ad Att.* IX, 2^a 3 (Postumus Curtius); IX, 3, 2 (Postumus); IX, 5, 1 (Postumus); IX, 6, 2 (Curtius); *Ad Fam.* II, 16, 7 (Curtius noster dibaphum cogitat)]. The context shows that all these passages refer to one man]. Four years later this man aspired to the consulship (*Ad Att.* XII, 49, Curtius).

There is furthermore a Postumus (some mss. read Postumius) who should be identified with this zealous Caesarian on the following grounds. When after Caesar's murder Cicero withdrew from Rome to his Cumaeian villa he met a group of Caesar's former lieutenants there—Balbus, Hirtius, Pansa, and M. Curtius—and entered into friendly relations with them (*Ad Att.* XIV, 9-11). Now note the group with which he associated at the same villa two years before: it included Balbus, Hirtius, Pansa, Oppius, Matius, and *Postumius* (*Fam.* VI, 12, 2). In view of the associates involved in both instances, the last name should, I think, be restored to *Postumus*, and the man is doubtless the same M. Curtius. Again shortly after Cicero's visit just mentioned the young Octavian chose Matius and Postumus (M¹, Postumius M²) as sponsors for the games he was giving in honor of Caesar (*Ad Att.* XV, 2). Here again we are dealing with one of the same group, in a word, with M. Curtius. Finally, in a letter written the day after he received his rebuke from M. Curtius, Cicero mentions Postumus among those who had been enriched by Caesar (*Ad Att.* XIV, 10, 2). The probability is that the same man is in mind.

Since, therefore, M. Curtius Postumus received a military tribuneship from Caesar in 54—an office which made him a close associate of Hirtius, Pansa, Balbus, and Matius—and since he was still a strong Caesarian after Caesar's death, we can hardly

refuse to identify him with the Curtius Postumus who came from Gaul with Caesar's army in 49, who had received much wealth from Caesar, who lived with Caesar's other lieutenants at Cumae in 46 and again in 44, and who shared with Matius the supervision of Octavian's games in 44.

We need therefore not suppose that Caesar elevated the business adventurer Rabirius to high political office. He used the man's business experience in the commissary department, and that is the last we hear of him.

5. Aristotle, Cic. *Quint. Fr.* II, 8, 3.

Habemus hanc philosophiam non ab Hymetto sed ab †araysira. Cic. *Quint. Fr.* II, 8, 3.

App.: araxira G V Cratander in marg.; arazira PI; araxita M²al.' N; araysira Δ; area Syra A² Cratander ed.; *area Cyrea*, Ernestius; *Abdera*, Reid.

Cicero has just remarked that he could not invite his invalid friend Marius to his Cumaean villa because, undergoing repairs, it was full of workmen. As for himself he was so deep in study (cf. *Ad Att.* IV, 10, 1) that he did not mind living there under such disagreeable conditions. By *hanc philosophiam* he means, of course, the Epicurean dictum that one can live pleasantly even in squalor if one possesses the philosophic calm. However, the obscure passage would seem somehow to indicate that Cicero had learned this maxim not from Epicurus himself (Hymettus) but from some other source.

First a word regarding *ab Hymetto*. In *Ad Fam.* XV, 16, Cicero calls Epicurus "Gargettius," from his deme, of course. There has been some discussion regarding the locality of the Gargettian deme (Young, in the *Drisler Studies*). Milchhöfer (*Abh. Akad. Berl.* 1892) has pointed out that the inscriptions mentioning the deme are found on the north spur of Hymettus and northward toward Pentelicus. It seems likely, therefore, that a part of Hymettus was included in the deme and that *ab Hymetto* in this passage is equivalent to *a Gargettio*. At any rate this passage in Cicero ought at least to be included in discussions treating of the locality of Attic demes.³

³Let me add that topographical studies of Athens seem to neglect another item of Epicurean geography (Cic. *De Fin.* V, 3) which locates the κῆπος of Epicurus on the road to Colonus.

It is more difficult to guess the word underlying *ab araysira* or *araxira*. Two or three possibilities occur to me which I would offer in the hope that one of them may some day suggest the master word. The library which Cicero was so avidly reading during these days as to forget bodily discomfort (*Ad Att.* IV, 10, 1) was that of Faustus Sulla, which probably contained the priceless manuscripts of Aristotle (Plut. *Sulla* 26; Strabo, XIII, 1, 54) that Sulla had brought from Athens. Does Cicero mean that in his delight in reading Aristotle he had grown indifferent to surroundings like a very Epicurean? And is the word *Σράγυρα* hidden under *araysira*? For those who are interested in the sources of Cicero's philosophy and rhetorical theories, it would be very interesting to know whether he had direct access to the long unpublished works of Aristotle and Theophrastus in the year 46. It has, of course, been noticed that Cicero quotes more accurately from Theophrastus in his *Orator* and *Brutus* written in 46 B. C. than in his *De Oratore* written some ten years earlier.

There are, however, other possibilities. When Cicero wrote this letter he had recently visited his Epicurean friend Paetus at Naples (*Ad Att.* IV, 9, 2), a man who seems to have had close connections with the distinguished Epicurean philosophers now teaching there, Philodemus and Siro (see *Vergil's Apprenticeship*, II, *Class. Phil.* 1920). Cicero mentions both of these philosophers in laudatory terms during this and the next year (Cic. *De Fin.* II, 119, *Ad Fam.* VI, 11, 2, *Ad Fam.* IX, 26, if *Dioni* should be changed to *Sironi*). Bearing this in mind, we may suppose that Cicero pretends to have been converted to the doctrine by Philodemus the Gadarene, and read a <Gad>ara Syra or a b>aro<ne> Syro (cf. *Ad Fam.* IX, 26, 3 *ille baro*) or, with Cratander, though not with his connotation, *ab area Syra*; in which case it would be a reference to the *κῆπος* at Naples. Those who have great faith in Cratander's readings may be inclined to accept the last solution. On paleographical grounds a reference to Aristotle seems to me more probable.

6. Philodemus, *Ad Att.* XII, 6, 2.

While we have Philodemus in mind I would call attention to a possible reference to him in Cic. *Ad Att.* XII, 6, 2. Cicero after expressing to Atticus his admiration for the latter's keen

interest in the minutiae of scholarship (Tyrannio's book on accents is under discussion) says: Amo enim πάντα φιλόδημον (O. Crat.) φιλόδημον (M) . . . scire enim vis, quo uno animus alitur. Boot accepts the reading of O. Crat. but as a common noun, i. e. hominem in omnibus rebus popularem, but this sense is not in accord with the context, and Tyrrell and Purser are right in rejecting it. Popma's very plausible conjecture φιλεδήμονα is generally accepted.

However it is usually a good rule of criticism to adopt the ms. reading wherever possible. I wish only to point out that if we leave the reading as it stands and interpret the phrase: "For I love every Philodemus" (i. e. every searcher after knowledge), we arrive at a plausible meaning without recourse to emendation. It is wholly likely that Atticus, the Epicurean, was as good a friend of Philodemus as he was of Patro, the leader of the Athenian garden-school (*Fam.* XIII, 1, 5). Philodemus, on Cicero's own testimony, had unusually wide interests: est autem . . . non philosophia solum sed etiam ceteris studiis quae fere ceteros Epicureos neglegere dicunt perpolitus (*Cic. in Pis.* 70); and in *De Fin.* II, 119 Cicero calls him *familiaris* and *doctissimus*. Now it must be admitted that in his *rhētorica* Philodemus shows himself very impatient of rhetorical minutiae, but his numerous works on every subject from economics to music display an unusually wide scholarship for an Epicurean, and it is not unlikely that Atticus had justified his own interest in Tyrannio's erudite work by reference to Philodemus' extensive studies. On such a supposition we may accept the text here as it stands. If we do, we thereby gain a new contemporaneous reference to Philodemus.

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VII.—APHRODITE: MOTHER EARTH.

The several writers who have given consideration to the possibility that Aphrodite may have been originally an earth goddess, have treated the question in different ways. Dieterich¹ gives us his impression and nothing more: "... Aphrodite nimmt besonders leicht den Zug alter Erdgottheit in sich auf, der sie als die alles in Liebesarmung empfangende und erzeugende erscheinen lässt." Miss J. E. Harrison² is apparently half-convinced that Aphrodite was primarily of the earth earthy, but will not be so rash as to assert it. Gruppe,³ with the Iope theory uppermost in his mind, virtually ignores the problem. The fullest treatment of the subject is that presented by L. R. Farnell in his *Cults of the Greek States*,⁴ where, after a thorough scrutiny of the evidence drawn from many sources, he reaches the conclusion that the terrestrial aspects of the goddess are the primitive ones. The validity of this judgment is in no wise impaired by a revision of Mr. Farnell's opinion as to the local source of the divinity; when he published his chapters on Aphrodite in the *Cults* (1896) he held that she was largely Oriental, whereas in his *Greece and Babylon* (1911) he maintains that she was almost entirely Aegean, but nevertheless an earth-divinity. Dr. J. Rendel Harris^{4a} has detected the scent of the soil out of which she has been digged, but that she is originally and fundamentally the *mandragora*, or mandrake, as he maintains, I cannot believe; on the other hand, that in certain localities and secondarily she was the mandrake is undeniable.

For several years the present writer has been making a detailed study of the Aphrodite of myth and cult and has come to this same conclusion, although along a different avenue of approach. He has found Farnell's compilation of references bearing upon this phase of the goddess's nature very full, yet he notes the absence of two highly significant passages. The first

¹ *Mutter Erde* (1913), p. 71.

² *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 307-315.

³ *Gr. Myth. und Religionsgesch.*, II, 1343-1375.

⁴ II, pp. 642-653; 750-755.

^{4a} *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* III, 4, (1917), pp. 354 ff.

is a fragment of Theopompus⁵ preserved in Plutarch, De Is. et Os., 69, p. 378 E:

Τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν οἰκοῦντας ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ καλεῖν τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα Κρόνον, τὸ δὲ θέρος Ἀφροδίτην, τὸ δ' ἔαρ Περσεφόνην · ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης γενᾶσθαι πάντα.

The second passage is a fragment of some epic poet doubtfully attributed to Parmenides:⁶

αὐτὰρ ὑπ' αὐτὴν ἐστὶν ἀταρπιτὸς ὀκρυόεσσα
κοίλη, πηλώδης · ἥ δ' ἡγήσασθαι ἀρίστη
ἄλσος ἐς ἱμερόεν πολυτιμήτου Ἀφροδίτης.

The path thus referred to is regarded as being even lower than the underworld region occupied by Persephone. The fragment, if read in connection with the text in which it is preserved, allows no other inference than that Aphrodite was just as terrestrial as Persephone, whose nature none disputed. Indeed, the two divinities here stand in the same relation to each other as they do in the myth in which they lay their respective claims to Adonis before Zeus in Hades.⁷ The one quotation would supplement Farnell's references 107 a-i (pp. 750-751), and the other those numbered 110 a-m (pp. 754-755). The latter, inasmuch as it includes a specific mention of Aphrodite rather than an allusion to her by means of an epithet, is of much more value as an argument than Farnell's reference 110 l.

A recent discovery,⁸ however, brings the conclusion as to the primaeval nature of the goddess nearer to certainty. The French excavators have found the sacred "inner" *omphalos* of Delphi, not exactly *in situ*, but nevertheless amid the ruins of a building which there is every reason to believe was the famous *adyton*. This is to be distinguished from the "outer" *omphalos*⁹ which came to light a score of years ago and of which Pausanias makes mention.¹⁰ But the "inner" *omphalos* Pausanias, in common with most of the laity, never saw, for he makes no mention of it

⁵ FHG I, 293, p. 328.

⁶ Diels, Frag. d. Vorsokr., Parm. 20 (dub.) = Philosophoumena, V, 8, ed. Cruice.

⁷ Apollodorus, Bibl., III, 14, 4 (183-185).

⁸ Miss J. E. Harrison calls it "the greatest religious find of the century" (The Year's Work in Classical Studies, 1915, p. 73).

⁹ Bull. de Corr. Hell., 1900, p. 259, fig. 2.

¹⁰ X, 16, 3.

in his description of the contents of the *adyton*;¹¹ if he had seen it, he could scarcely have failed to note its most striking feature, the inscription engraved upon it. This inscription consists simply of the three characters $\Pi\Lambda\epsilon$ which are at least as old as the seventh century B. C. and are interpreted as the mystic E of Delphi and the divine name ΓΑ, i. e. Earth.¹² The "inner" *omphalos*, then, is not merely the central point of the world or the navel of the earth; it is both of these and is also the very image of Mother Earth herself, who, according to the literature and mythology, was the primitive divinity of the Pythian sanctuary.¹³

This identification throws new light upon an equation of Hesychius that has been noted frequently in discussion of the *omphalos* as a religious symbol: γῆς ὀμφαλός, he says, ἡ Πάφος καὶ Δελφοί. The discovery at Delphi now enables us to see that in reality the words explained by the lexicographer should be written Γῆς ὀμφαλός. If, then, the Delphic *omphalos* is Earth's own image, the conclusion is unescapable that the Paphian *omphalos* is also. But the evidence by no means ends here. That the renowned conical *omphalos* of Paphos was regarded as an image of Aphrodite is expressly recorded by several reliable and independent authorities. Servius¹⁴ tells us: Apud Cyprios Venus in modum umbilici, vel, ut quidam volunt, metae colitur. Tacitus,¹⁵ in his description of the visit of Titus to the Cyprian shrine, draws the same picture: Illum [i. e. Titum] cupido incessit adeundi visendique templum Paphiae Veneris, inclutum per indigenas advenasque. . . . Simulacrum deae non effigie humana: continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum, metae modo exsurgens. Maximus of Tyre,¹⁶ though employing another comparison, testifies clearly to the contour of the image:

¹¹ X, 24, 5.

¹² F. Courby, Comptes rend. de l'Acad. des Inscr., 1914, p. 268. For a photographic reproduction and a full description of the stone see this article.

¹³ Aesch., Eum., 1-8; Eurip. Iph. in T., 1234 ff.; see Miss J. E. Harrison, Themis, pp. 384 ff., pp. 396 f.; Dieterich, Mutter Erde (1913), p. 60. On *omphalos* see also Miss Harrison in Quiggin, Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway, pp. 150 ff.

¹⁴ Ad Verg. Aen. I, 720.

¹⁵ Hist. II, 2-3.

¹⁶ Diss. II, vii Hobein (VIII, 8).

τὸ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἂν εἰκάσαις ἄλλω τῇ πυραμίδι λευκῇ, ἣ δὲ ὕλη ἀγνοεῖται. That the *simulacrum*, though symbolical, was nevertheless held to be a real statue is clear from the narrative in which Philostratus¹⁷ tells of the visit of Apollonius of Tyana to the Paphian sanctuary: νεὺς . . . ἐπιτυχόντες προσπλεύσαι Κύπρῳ κατὰ τὴν Πάφον, οὗ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔδος, ὃ ἐνυμβολικῶς ἰδρυμένον θαυμάσαι τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον, καὶ πολλὰ τοὺς ἱερέας ἐς τὴν ὁσίαν τοῦ ἱεροῦ διδαζόμενον ἐς Ἰωνίαν πλεύσαι

Now it can be seen at a glance that the value of the archaeological and literary evidence depends wholly, in this connection, upon the statement of Hesychius. If the latter is true, then one is forced to regard the omphalic image of Aphrodite in the Cyprian shrine as also an image of Earth; in short, that Aphrodite is herself Earth. Moreover, there would emerge the possibility, if not the probability, that Aphrodite's name signifies 'earth,' in which event it would assuredly be non-Hellenic. If this clue can be followed to a successful conclusion scholars may be able thereby to account in detail for the multiform nature of the Greek goddess of love.

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¹⁷ Vita Apoll., III, 58.

VIII.—PETRARCH ON AUGUSTUS' LETTERS.

Since writing a brief study on the correspondence of Augustus¹ I have run across an interesting allusion to a collection of his letters, which was supposed to be extant in the fourteenth century, an allusion which is mentioned in none of the present histories of Latin Literature in the discussion of the writings of Augustus.

Petrarch in his *Rerum Memorandarum Libri* (I, 2) says: *Scripsit et epigrammatum librum et epistolarum ad amicos conditum facetissima gravitate et luculentissima brevitate, quod opus inexplicatum et carie semesum, adolescenti mihi admodum in manus venit, multum frustra quæsitum.*

Did this manuscript, of which Petrarch seems to have had so vivid a recollection, actually contain some collection of Augustus' letters, possibly the one mentioned by Gellius (XV, 7), *liber epistularum divi Augusti quas ad Gaium nepotem suum scripsit*? Or did Petrarch in his later life have too vivid a memory of some of the manuscripts which he had seen in his youth, before his enthusiasm was tempered by a tendency toward careful investigation? Bauemker (*Quibus antiquis auctoribus Petrarca in conscribendis Rerum Memorabilium Libris usus sit*, p. 9, ft. n. 2) comments with a *haud scio an.* Voigt (*Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, ed. 1893, p. 41) skeptically classes this manuscript of Augustus' letters with those which Petrarch thought he had seen of some of Varro's works and of Cicero's *De Gloria*, and concludes that he was mistaken about them all.

It is possible to understand how Petrarch may have thought that he had seen the *De Gloria*, although it was in reality the *Tusculans*, especially if, as Voigt (p. 40) suggests, some copyist impressed by what seemed to him a significant part of the work had attached the title *De Gloria* to a manuscript of the *Tusculans*, or to some section of the manuscript. But it is not easy to see with what Petrarch could have confused a book of Augustus' letters and epigrams. It seems that the testimony of Petrarch should at least be considered in any weighing of evidence for and against the publication of Augustus' letters.

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¹ *Augustus as a Letter-Writer*, T. A. P. A. XLIX, 53-66.

REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, LXXII, 3 and 4.

Pp. 321-352. Eduard Fraenkel, *Lyrische Daktylen* (continuation and conclusion of pp. 161 ff.; see *AJP* XL 212). The author examines a number of dactylo-iambic (-trochaic, -epitrite) poems. As a result of this examination he concludes that in the so-called dactylo-epitrite rhythm the dactyls are real dactyls historically and formally, though he concedes that in fifth-century poems of the strict dactylo-epitrite type the normal dactylic member as well as the double epitrite might be used as equivalents of an ionic dimeter.

Pp. 353-373. V. Gardthausen, *Namen und Zensus der Römer*. This paper treats of the influence that was exercised by the Roman censor on the determination of the exact form of the Roman name. It was the duty of the censor, among other things, to prepare a complete list of the full names of all Roman citizens. The author studies in succession the various elements (praenomen, nomen gentilicium, nomen patris aut patroni, tribus and cognomen) that compose the Roman official name, and shows how in each case the influence in question might be exerted. Incidentally, the article is a remarkably clear exposition of the theory of the Roman name and removes many of the difficulties attaching to that subject.

Pp. 374-402. Friedrich Wilhelm, *Der Regentenspiegel des Sopatros*. Interpretation of Sopater's letter to Hemerius entitled Πώς δέῖ πράττειν τὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένην αὐτῷ ἡγεμονίαν (*Stob.* IV, p. 212, 13 ff., Hense). In the course of the interpretation Wilhelm presents copious citations of parallel passages from ancient paraenetic literature, and a multitude of references to the works of modern writers that have contributed to the elucidation of the subject. He reaches the conclusion that the author of the treatise is the sophist and philosopher Sopater of Apamea, the pupil of Jamblichus, and he brings out the fact that this Sopater was for a time the friend and protégé of Constantine the Great, but that he subsequently fell into disfavor with the emperor and was executed at his command not later than 337. He further shows that the writer of the letter is probably identical with the Sopater to whom Jamblichus addressed various letters that have been preserved by Stobaeus. Finally, he points out that Eunapius calls him an ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν τε καὶ γράφειν δευότατος and that Suidas attributes to him a Περὶ προνοίας, and that therefore Focke, *Quaest. Plut.*, Muenster, 1911, is probably right in

assigning to him also, rather than to the younger Sopater († 364/5), the Ἐκλογαὶ διάφοροι described by Photius.

Pp. 403-425. Ernst Howald, Zu den Iliasscholien. With a view to enlarging our understanding of the nature and relationship of the various classes of Homeric scholia (BT, A, D, Eustathius, etc.), Howald makes a detailed study of the Homeric scholia furnished by Oxyrhynchus Papyri 221 and 1086.

Pp. 426-436. S. Schwyzler, Zu griechischen Inschriften. 1. Interpretation of the Thessalian Sotairos IS (Solmsen, Insc. sel.³, No. 11). 2. Αἰναιῖος (IG IX 2 p. XI nr. III) is an Aeolic form derived from *Αἰναιῖος, which by haplology comes from *Αἰνιαναῖος. Αἰνιαῖον νέμος is the "Aenianian woodland." 3. Thessalian Ναυσικαῖος (IG IX 2, 1228) and Homeric ΝΑΥΣΙΚΑΑ. The Ναυσικαῖοι are the sons of a Ναυσικκᾶς. Homeric Ναυσικκᾶ was written for ΝΑΥΣΙΚΑ = ΝΑΥΣΙΚΚΑ = *Ναυσίκα or *Ναύσικκα, a pet-name (cp. Ναύσικος). 4. ΑΜΑΤΑ (IS Ἐφ. ἀρχ. 1905, 74) = ἄματα (from ἀ priv. + *ματός) = ἀδόλως. So ἄμάται τέχνηαι χρεύμενος (IS from Dodona, Hoffmann DI 1568) = ἀδόλῳ τέχνη χρώμενος.

Pp. 437-445. Krateros, Perdikkas und die letzten Plaene Alexanders: Eine Studie zu Diod. XVIII 4, 1-6, by Heinrich Endres. The passage of Diodorus treats of the decision which, after the death of Alexander, was reached by Perdikkas and the army to drop the prosecution of the vast undertakings that had been projected by the late king. Diodorus was indebted to Hieronymus of Cardia for this information. The absence of Craterus with ἐντολαὶ ἑγγραπτοὶ issued to him by Alexander is one of the cardinal points of the narrative. The ὑπομνήματα are but another name for the ἐφημερίδες. The ἐντολαὶ ἑγγραπτοὶ, the βεβουλευμένα and the ἐπιβολαί all refer to the same thing. Selfishness was the prime motive that led Perdikkas to abandon the execution of Alexander's plans.

Pp. 446-463. A. W. de Groot, Ptolemaios der Sohn. De Groot maintains that thus far no one has succeeded in identifying with any definite historic personality the νῖος Πτολεμαίου that is mentioned as co-regent over Egypt during the years 267-259 of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus. He does not see how the hypothesis of a person other than Euergetes as the co-regent can be reconciled with the position that Euergetes held before his accession to the throne. He therefore concludes that Euergetes himself was the co-regent, and believes that Euergetes' desire not to wound the susceptibilities of the people of Cyrene affords a satisfactory explanation of the termination of the co-regency.

Pp. 464-472. K. Busche, Zu Senecas Buechern de beneficiis und de clementia. Critical notes on De benef. 1, 3, 3; 2, 8, 2;

2, 14, 2; 2, 34, 3; 4, 5, 1; 4, 8, 1; 4, 20, 3; 4, 24, 1; 5, 3, 1; 6, 31, 11; 6, 35, 5; 7, 2, 1; De clem. 1, 12, 3.

Pp. 473-478. A. Brinkmann, Kallimachos Kydippe. Critical edition of Oxyrhynchus Pap. No. 1011. New emendations are presented in verses 39-41, which, with the appended critical notes, are as follows:

κούρην, ἣ δ' ἀνὰ τῷ πᾶν ἐκάλυψεν ἔπος
κῆν αὖ σῶς· ὃ τ[ε] λοιπόν, Ἀκόντιε, σείο μετελθεῖν
ἔσται τὴν ἰδίην ἐς Διονυσιάδα.

39 ἀνὰ τῷ Brinkmann: ανεως P 40 κηναυσω P, dist. Schwister [a former member of the Bonn Seminary] ὃ τ[ε] Brinkmann σείο pr. ε del. P.

Pp. 479-480. F. Atenstaedt, Zu Stephanos von Byzanz. *Γέντα*, St. B., s. v., is a corruption of Πεντάπολις, Ptol. 7, 2, 2. The author also cites a string of entries from Stephanus of Byzantium, some of which certainly, and the rest probably, were derived from the first book of the per. mar. ext. of Marcian.

Pp. 481-518. H. Kallenberg, Bausteine zu einer historischen Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Historical exhibit, with statistics from Homer to Cantacuzene, of the use of τοῦ (του), τῷ (τῳ); ἄττα, τινά; the genitives and datives of ὅστις; and ἄττα, ἄττα.

Pp. 519-526. W. Soltau, Nochmals die Enniusfinsternis. Soltau shows once more that the solar eclipse reported by Ennius (see Cic. De rep. 1, 16, 25) cannot be identified with the solar eclipse of the year 400 B. C. The text of Cicero, as the Vaticanus or its corrector has it, is wrong, and originally the word quingentesimo stood before the word quinquagesimo. The Ennian eclipse would thus have for its date Non. Iun. DL, which must be equated with May 6, 203 B. C.

Pp. 527-536. B. Sauer, Favorinus als Gewaehrsman in Kunstdingen. Sauer accepts the Pseudo-Dionean thirty-seventh and sixty-fourth orations as works of Favorinus of Arelate, the pupil of Dio Chrysostomus. From a study of all the passages relating to art in these orations and in the fragments of Favorinus, he concludes that Favorinus is a valuable source of information on matters of art, and that even his unsupported testimony must in general be regarded as trustworthy.

Pp. 537-593. Arthur Ludwich, Plutarch ueber Homer. Among the works of Plutarch is found a treatise that in the printed editions bears the title *περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως Ὁμήρου*. This treatise was intended as a pedagogic manual (*πρὸς εἰσαγωγὴν τῶν ἀρχομένων παιδεύεσθαι*), and served its purpose admirably. From the point of view of textual criticism, the work has been sadly neglected, and not even the printed title is

based on MS authority. Ludwig makes a vigorous protest against this grievous neglect, and paves the way for the preparation of a critical edition by presenting the results of a study based on the collation of four entire MSS, portions of seven others, and specimens of yet three others. The MSS studied by Ludwig fall into two groups (designated by him as Ψ and Ω), which are so radically different that they cannot possibly have been derived from the same archetype. The printed editions say practically nothing about this divergence of tradition, but editors, upon the whole, follow the text of Ψ . Ludwig shows that Ω , in spite of its many corruptions, possesses much independent value, and that the two groups must be used to supplement each other. There is no sign in either Ψ or Ω of a partition of the treatise into two books such as is found in the printed editions. The title of the work is *περὶ Ὀμήρου* in Ψ , and *εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ Ὀμήρου* in Ω . Ludwig thinks that *περὶ Ὀμήρου* is the more appropriate title, though he doubts whether it was the original one since the present treatise is a collection of excerpts from a much larger work. A third recension of the *περὶ Ὀμήρου* is evidenced by the eight excerpts preserved in Stobaeus' Anthology, which serve to bring into still bolder relief the epitomic character of the work. A whole chapter is devoted to the refutation of the arguments against the authenticity of the treatise. Another chapter shows that in the matter of Homeric exegesis Plutarch largely followed the Alexandrian scholars, especially Aristarchus, but when he allows himself the luxury of etymologizing on his own account, he does not appear to advantage. A study of Plutarch's relation to Homeric textual criticism affords Ludwig the opportunity once more to come to the defence of his view that of the three classes of texts which he posits for Homer (vulgate texts, texts characterized by 'plus' verses and the omission of vulgate verses, and texts that embody the results of Alexandrian criticism), the vulgate text is pre-Alexandrian and dates from the best period of Greek poetry. He then shows that Plutarch followed the second class of texts; that as a verbal critic he was eclectic, sometimes capricious, not always consistent; and, finally, that there is nothing about the Homeric citations in the *περὶ Ὀμήρου* that would warrant the inference of non-Plutarchean authorship.

Pp. 594-615. M. Boas, Die Lorscher Handschrift der sog. Monosticha Catonis. With the aid of the Lorsch collection (Cod. Vatic. Palat. 239, f. 3^r, s. X) of the so-called Monosticha Catonis, Boas shows that there were two distinct MS traditions, which he designates as ϕ and χ respectively. To the χ class belong the Lorsch MS and the MS from which Alcuin copied his collection of the Monosticha. To the original collection from which both ϕ and χ are derived Boas applies the symbol ω . The title of the ω collection was "Sententiae generales in singu-

lis versibus." The absence of the name of Cato from the title is due to the fact that the collection comprised also proverbs of different provenience. By combining ϕ and χ Boas reconstructs the contents of ω in their proper order. In the concluding section he demonstrates the importance of using both ϕ and χ for purposes of textual criticism, and points out that even for the testimony of the ϕ class Paris. 9347 does not alone suffice.

Pp. 616-625. Oskar Klotz, Zu Aischylos thebanischer Tetralogie. Klotz gives a different interpretation of the passages of the Septem that have been supposed to contain an allusion to the expedition of the Epigoni. He also attempts to reconstruct the action of the tetralogy along simpler lines than those of Robert. In the Laius, the king makes a futile endeavor by the exposure of Oedipus to avert the evil consequences of his disobedience to the oracle of Apollo; in the Oedipus, the hero is banished by his sons and pronounces the terrible curse upon them; in the Septem, Eteocles voluntarily meets Polynices in mortal combat in order to compass the extinction of the race of Laius and thereby to effect the salvation of Thebes; and in the Sphinx, Oedipus (not the Silenus, as Robert thinks) overcomes the monster by solving the riddle.

Pp. 626-632. M. Wallies, Zur Textgeschichte der ersten Analytik. Critical study of a number of passages of Aristotle's Prior Analytics. The passages considered are 24 a 16, 24 a 28, 24 b 29, 26 a 2, 42 b 13, 44 b 38, 31 a 17, 32 a 5, 42 a 28, 42 b 6, 49 a 24, 45 a 12, 44 a 2. The author shows the influence of the ancient commentaries on the MS text.

Pp. 633-640. Miszellen: T. O. Achelis, Erasmus ueber die griechischen Briefe des Brutus (632-638). When Erasmus, in a letter of May 27, 1520, to Beatus Rhenanus says, "Porro quas nobis reliquit, *nescio quis Bruti nomine*, nomine Phalaridis, nomine Senecae et Pauli, quid aliud censeri possunt, quam declamatiunculæ?" he is not thinking of the Latin letters of Brutus to Cicero, as Ruehl, Rhein. Mus. LXX 315 f., thinks, but of the Greek letters that bear the name of Brutus, which were published along with the letters of Phalaris and those of Apollonius in the editio princeps of 1498.—Ernst Graf, Zu Plutarchs Symposiaca (638-639). In Quaest. Conv. VIII 6, 5 (727 a), for τὸ θε καὶρε δερε καὶ δέντης τοὺς ὀδόντας read τὸ δ' ἐ<δεν ἐ>κάλουν ἔδερε καὶ κτλ.—A. Brinkmann, Lueckenbuesser (639-640). Cleanthes, fr. 570 v. Arnim, consisting of four iambic trimeters, is cited not only by Galen, but also, more correctly, by Gregorius Palamas (p. 2, 3 ff. Jahn). In Palamas' version, the third line starts with *vaí*, and Meineke's conjecture is thus confirmed.—F. Wilhelm, Nachtrag (640). Addenda and corrigenda to pp. 374-402.

C. W. E. MILLER.

ROMANIA, Vol. XLIV (1915, 1916-1917), Nos. 174, 175-6.
(Cf. AJP XXXVII, 364.)

Juillet-Octobre, 1915.

Paul Meyer. *Manuscripts médicaux en français*. 54 pages. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century it became customary in France to write medical treatises in the vulgar tongue. Some of these treatises were mere translations from the Latin, while others were originally written in French. The latter no doubt appealed more particularly to those women who eagerly devoted themselves to medical and surgical practice; while to the modern scholar it is the lexical material to be found in them that is of especial value. The famous author of this article gives also certain reminiscences of his own early manhood, when he was employed in copying Latin and French medical treatises in mediæval manuscripts for Dr. Daremberg. The latter devoted much time to this subject from about the year 1850 to 1872, when he died without publishing his scholarly work.

Ernest Muret. *Fragments de manuscrits français trouvés en Suisse*. 9 pages. I. *Fragments d'une chanson de geste perdue*. These strips of parchment were found in the bindings of certain sixteenth-century manuscripts preserved in the archives of Geneva. They are herewith published with a brief introduction and scanty notes. II. *Fragment d'un manuscrit du Roman de Troie*. This bit of soiled parchment had been used to wrap up a sixteenth-century seal of the Berne republic.

Giulio Bertoni. *Scene d'amore e di cavalleria in antichi arazzi estensi*. 14 pages. Early inventories of Italian tapestries describe in some detail a number of scenes familiar to students of Old French literature. Among them may be mentioned the early epics and the *Roman de la Rose*.

Albert Dauzat. *Etymologies françaises et provençales*. 20 pages. Etymologies of eleven words and groups of words are discussed in some detail.

Mélanges. M. Wilmotte, *L'auteur des branches II et Va du Renard et Chrétien de Troyes*. A. Guesnon, A. Långfors, *Notes et corrections aux chansons de Raoul* sise Soons. Giulio Bertoni, *Osservazioni al testo del Doctrinal di Raimon de Castelnou*. Paul Marchot, *Anc. français Eschepir, Eschapis*. Paul Marchot, *Anc. français Talemelier*. Giulio Bertoni, *Nota sul dialetto di Bonifacio (Corsica)*.

Comptes rendus. E. Gamillscheg et L. Spitzer, *Die Bezeichnungen der "Klette" im Galloromanischen* (Antoine Thomas). Stefan Glixelli, *Les cinq poèmes des trois morts et des trois vifs*

(A. Långfors, A. Jeanroy). L. F. Paetow, *The Battle of the seven Arts* (Memoirs of the University of California) (A. Jeanroy: "La partie la plus importante de cette nouvelle édition du petit poème d'Henri d'Andeli consiste dans les notes, qui apportent sur l'état des études au XIII^e siècle des renseignements abondants et précis.") Eero Ilvonen, *Parodies de thèmes pieux dans la poésie française du moyen âge* (Arthur Långfors). S. Strónski, *La légende amoureuse de Bertran de Born* (A. Jeanroy). Alfred Jeanroy, *Les Joies du Gai Savoir* (Arthur Långfors).

Périodiques. *Butlletí de dialectologia catalana*, t. I, II (J. Jud). *Le Moyen Age*, XXI^e-XXV^e année (G. Huet). *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, XXXIV^e, XXXV^e année (Arthur Långfors); XXXV^e (suite)-XXXVII^e année (Ernest Muret). *Revue des Langues romanes*, t. LVI (L. Foulet). *Studj romanzi*, vol. VI (Giulio Bertoni). *Zeitschrift für französische sprache und litteratur*, t. XL-XLII (J. R.)

Chronique. Retirement of M. P. Meyer from the directorship of the *Ecole des Chartes*. "La Sorbonne a bénéficié, cet hiver, de la présence de M. C. H. Grandgent, de l'Université Harvard, qui a fait, de novembre à mars, un cours sur Dante et son œuvre." Lectures by Belgian professors.

Comptes rendus sommaires. 5 titles. Henry Raymond Brush, *La Bataille de Trente* (A. Långfors).

Janvier-Octobre, 1916-1917.

Antoine Thomas. *Nouvelles variétés étimologiques*. 36 pages. The etymologies of some thirty-two words and groups of words are discussed.

Gustave Cohen and Karl Young. *The Officium Stellæ* from Bilsen. 16 pages. Between the modern towns of Tongres and Maestricht in Belgium there existed in mediæval times the monastery of Bilsen, and here towards the end of the eleventh century there was written a Nativity play in Latin which has many points of interest for the history of the drama. The text is here published with introduction and notes from the unique manuscript in the library of the Bollandists in Brussels. [Note by G. C. K.: On June 29, 1897, when I visited this library I was told that at the time their manuscripts were transferred to the Bibliothèque Royale a few volumes were overlooked. The manuscript in question here must be one of the latter class. On this occasion fifteenth-century editions of the *Speculum Historiale* and the *Speculum Doctrinale* of Vincentius Bellovacensis were inspected by me.]

M. Wilmotte. *Le Rodlieb, notre premier roman courtois.* 34 pages. There have been preserved in a Latin manuscript now at Munich a series of fragments of a mediæval Latin epic which have given rise to much discussion among scholars. Several German investigators have argued that the author of these fragments was one of their countrymen; and now the well-known Liege professor has entered the lists in favor of a French origin. The former endeavor to localize the story at Tegernsee, the latter would have us consider the banks of the Meuse its original home. Perhaps some day the question may be definitely decided in the light of a fuller knowledge still to be gained.

E. Walberg. *Date et source de la Vie de saint Thomas de Cantorbéry* par Benet, moine de Saint-Alban. 20 pages. The murder of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, on Dec. 29, 1170, created such a wave of popular interest in his career that numerous lives were written both in Latin and French. Benet, a monk of Saint-Alban, wrote a French poem on the subject, which is here investigated as to both date and source. The writer decides for the year 1184 and a lost Latin life by Robert de Cricklade as being the most probable.

G. Huet. *La légende de la Montagne d'aimant dans le roman de Berinus.* 27 pages. The hero's ship is irresistibly drawn to the fabulous magnet in mid-ocean. This story is found as far back as the time of Pliny the Elder, and it is extant in many versions. The Old French forms of the legend are here studied and compared.

A. Jeanroy et A. Långfors. *Chansons inédites tirées du manuscrit français 1591 de la Bibliothèque nationale.* 57 pages. Thirty-eight songs considered by the present editors to be preserved only in this Paris manuscript are here edited critically. They are all of them anonymous.

A. Långfors. *Le Tournoiement d'enfer, poème allégorique et satirique tiré du manuscrit français 1807 de la Bibliothèque nationale.* 48 pages. This poem was apparently written in the neighborhood of Blois, as is evidenced by both allusions and dialect. It is here critically edited.

Arthur Långfors. *Le fabliau du moine; Le dit de la Tremontaine, deux poèmes inédits, tirés du manuscrit 2800 de la bibliothèque du baron James de Rothschild.* 16 pages. These short pieces are here edited critically, after their characteristics have been briefly described.

J. J. Salverda de Grave. *Poème en quatrains conservé dans un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque d'Amsterdam.* 11 pages. This little poem was copied in the fourteenth century on a fly-leaf of the famous tenth-century manuscript of Caesar preserved in the library of Amsterdam.

Mélanges. A. Jeanroy, "Ne garder l'heure," histoire d'une locution. Giulio Bertoni, Un nuovo frammento della versione perduta del Roman de Troie di Benoit de Sainte-More.

Comptes rendus. Giulio Bertoni, I trovatori d'Italia (Arthur Långfors). Gédéon Huet, Chansons et descorts de Gautier de Dargies (Arthur Långfors). Hjalmar Crohns, Die Bewertung der Frau unter dem Einfluss der Cölibatsidee; Legenden och medeltidens latinska predikan och exempla; Några Scripta supposititia (Arthur Långfors). O. J. Tallgren, R. Celler, Studii su la lirica italiana del Duecento: "De la mia disianza" (Giulio Bertoni). Ernest F. Langley, The poetry of Giacomo da Lentino, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1915 (Giulio Bertoni). Ludovico Frati, Rimatori bolognesi del Trecento (Giulio Bertoni). Dante Alighieri, Vita Nova . . . traduite par Henry Cochin, 2^e éd. (Henri Hauvette). Viggo Bröndal, Notes d'étymologie romane (J. Jud).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Francesco Novati and Régis Michalias,

Publications annoncées.

Collections et publications en cours.

Compte rendu sommaire. 1 title. Blanche Sutorius, Le débat provençal de l'âme et du corps (texte critique).

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

REVIEWS.

The Correspondence of Marcus Aurelius Fronto with Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Lucius Verus, Antoninus Pius, and Various Friends. Edited and for the first time translated into English by C. R. HAINES. Vol. I. London: W. Heinemann, 1919. 309 pp.

Martial: Epigrams, with an English translation by WALTER C. A. KER. Vol. I. London: W. Heinemann, 1919. 491 pp.

Ausonius: with an English translation by HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE. Vol. I. London: W. Heinemann, 1919. 397 pp.

These three recent volumes of the Loeb Classical Library may be mentioned here together. In each case the translator has done his work well. Apparently, both Ausonius and Fronto are now offered in English for the first time.

The text of Fronto has been carefully revised, and an attempt made to arrange the letters in their approximate chronological order. The early editors of the book were disappointed with the nature and contents of the work, and had no good word to say either for it or for its author. Mr. HAINES is much more sympathetic and appreciative, as might be expected from his excellent edition of Marcus Aurelius (Loeb Classical Library, 1916). But it is hard to share his enthusiasm for these letters, even though, in Pater's phrase, they recall for him "the long buried fragrance of a famous friendship of the ancient world." Certainly, they offer very little to justify the great reputation which Fronto long enjoyed.

There are a few misprints: p. 36, l. 1, 'tuas' for 'tuus'; p. 156, l. 13, 'exempla' for 'exemplo'; p. 220, l. 10, 'Ego' for 'Ergo'; p. 228, l. 14, 'at' for 'a.' On p. 125, l. 5, the word 'not' is omitted; on p. 284, l. 2, the word 'qui' has been dropped. On p. 15, l. 14, we have 'from Rome' for 'to Rome.' On p. 269, l. 24, the phrase 'disputes between public bodies and individuals' is rather misleading; the meaning is, disputes between public bodies and disputes between individuals.

The text used for Mr. KER's translation of Martial is the text published in Bell's *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum* (1905). For some of the 'wholly impossible' epigrams, Graglia's Italian version is called into service, as it was in Bohn's Classical Library.

On p. 23, l. 2, the translation does not fit the text adopted. In 6, 82, 3, the line 'cum vultu digitoque subnotasset' is trans-

lated: 'when he had furtively observed me and pointed me out.' The old interpretation seems better: the man eyed Martial and felt him all over. The Caecilius Secundus of 7, 84, 1 can hardly be the younger Pliny.

On p. 321, l. 9, 'Flacilla' should be 'Flaccilla'; p. 333, l. 23, 'these' is printed for 'there'; p. 441, l. 17, the word 'with' is omitted; p. 445, l. 16, the word 'not' is omitted. Friedlaender's name is regularly misspelled.

The bibliography is one of the casual sort which we sometimes get in the Loeb series. It omits Lindsay's excellent edition (Oxford, 1902). It dutifully records three English school editions (one of them of the vintage of 1868) but makes no mention of the scholarly edition by Edwin Post in the College Series of Latin Authors (1908).

The text of Ausonius here used is Peiper's (Leipzig: Teubner, 1886). Even his vagaries of spelling are faithfully retained. Ausonius is not always easy to translate; but Mr. WHITE has shown much ingenuity in dealing with the Technopaegnon and with some of his other curiosities of literature. The form of the amazing 'rhopalic' prayer could hardly have been reproduced; and the translation of the Cento Nuptialis must have been from the outset a rather hopeless task. Moreover, a part of it had to be left in Latin; apparently the translator had no convenient Graglia to fall back on.

On p. 26 (Ephem. 8, 3) 'area' should be 'aera.' The footnote on p. 336 has 'traxi' for 'traxit,' and 'manipulorum' for 'manipulario.' On p. 227, l. 24, 'eyots' is hardly a fair word to use outside of Eton.

Some of Ausonius' obvious borrowings from earlier writers are indicated in the notes, but the reader who is very jealous for Vergil will easily mark a good many others. Compare, for example, Mosella, 381, *salve magne parens frugumque virumque*, Mosella, with Geor. 2, 173, *salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus, magna virum*; or Mosella, 454, *addam urbes, tacito quas subterlaberis alveo, moeniaque antiquis te prospectantia muris*, with Geor. 2, 155, *adde tot egregias urbes . . . fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros*. The line *stringentem ripas et pingua culta secantem* is taken bodily from Aen. 8, 63. A great many parallels of this kind have already been set forth in Peiper's edition; but there are other passages, even in this one poem Mosella, which neither Peiper nor Manitius has noted. Cp. 242, *heu male defensos*, with Geor. 1, 448, *heu male . . . defendet*; 305, *operumque labores*, with Geor. 2, 155, *operumque laborem*; 97, *nec te . . . transierim*, with Geor. 2, 101, *non ego te . . . transierim*; 355, *atria quid memorem*, with Aen. 6, 123, *quid memorem Alciden*? The expression *vivique lacus*, 477, comes from Geor. 2, 469.

W. P. MUSTARD.

Latin Epigraphy, an Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions. By Sir JOHN EDWIN SANDYS. Cambridge University Press, and Putnam, 1919. \$3.75 net.

American methods of instruction in Latin epigraphy have changed from time to time. Thirty years ago collections like Wilmanns' were used with good results in a substantial study of inscriptional material. After the founding of the American School at Rome the courses in Epigraphy increased, but the methods of instruction were gradually altered. The examining committees which set the papers for the prospective students of the school naturally emphasized the need of a technical knowledge of epigraphy rather than a general acquaintance with the contents of many inscriptions; and accordingly our university lecturers who undertook to prepare students for the examinations lectured more and more upon the formal details of the science. This method had its advantages for those who worked only to prepare themselves well for a profitable year at Rome, but for the great number of students, who had time for only one course in Epigraphy, it provided little of lasting value. With the discontinuance of the examinations, however, a reversion to a more fruitful method has of late become noticeable. There is less lecturing, and a direct topical method is more generally used. Students are put through large blocks of well-selected inscriptions in Dessau or the Corpus with a view to acquiring first hand knowledge of Roman life, religion, politics, economics, grammar, etc. The technique, instead of consuming all the time, is acquired by the way, with the aid perhaps of such reference books as Cagnat or Egbert's practical compendium.

Sandys' new manual ought to encourage this method, unless the misguided instructor simply adopts it as one more crib from which to draw notes for his lectures. The author himself gives the excellent advice that his book be used with Dessau and with Diehl's collection of facsimiles. Intending apparently to have it serve as a guide through some larger collection, rather than as an independent manual, he has provided relatively few inscriptions. Besides the illustrative examples, chosen with excellent judgment, and a few historical documents, he has given less than five pages of inscriptions, and he has selected these chiefly to give familiarity with abbreviations. The usual preliminary chapters on the Roman name, the cursus, and the titles of the emperors, that so often cool the ardor of the beginner, are here relegated to compact appendices. The important matter, introduced by a delightful chapter on "Latin Inscriptions in Classical Authors," is presented in an easy narrative which, with its apt illustrations drawn from literature and history, readily entices the reader on. The book is, therefore, especially to be

commended to students of Latin who have not had instruction in a formal course. It is not quite as full as Cagnat, but its 324 pages are concisely phrased, compactly printed, and treat briefly all the usual topics. Perhaps space has been saved to greatest detriment in the inadequate list of abbreviations. Since the book is light enough to carry in one's epigraphical rambles, a fuller list would have added to its value as a *vade-mecum*.

A few infelicities of statement, due chiefly to a desire for compression, may be noted. Grammarians will take exception to several inadequate statements on page 37, as for instance: "Long *i* was spelt *ei* in isolated examples in and after the age of Sulla," and "*au* for *o*, *oi* for *oe*, and *oe* and *ou* for *u*, are found, in general, in republican times." On p. 38 the inscription of the Praenestine fibula is not correctly reproduced. On p. 84, the Mindios tablet is filled out with the form *Va(lesi)*. The inscription can hardly be old enough to justify this. P. 85, the propylum of Appius Claudius is attributed to "his sister's husband and son." Mommsen, however, seems to be right in saying that Claudius' adopted son and nephew are apparently the builders. P. 99, the form *armatei* seems incorrectly attributed to the *elogia* of Augustus' Forum. P. 104, the author adopts the traditional view that several inscriptions of the Augustan period are "archaistic." It would be better with the knowledge now available to assume only that makers of monumental and legal inscriptions in general conserved an old style and morphology. P. 106, the date of Sulla's dictatorship should be given as 82-79. For the date of the different parts of Constantine's Arch (p. 127) see Frothingham's various articles in *Am. Jour. Arch.* 1914-15. P. 149, Vicarello is not strictly speaking in "Tuscany." P. 158, in speaking of the *lex metalli Vipascensis* a reference should be given to the new fragments reported in *Rev. Arch.* 1906, p. 480. P. 160, the famous *lex collegii sal. Dianae et Antinoi* seems not to be a "municipal decree." P. 221, on the "Roman name" a reference should be given to Oxé's valuable article in *Rhein. Mus.* 1904, p. 28. The statement on p. 228 regarding Augustales is so brief that it will only mislead the reader: "the *ordo Augustalis*, dating from the time of Augustus, and consisting of six persons entrusted with the duty of providing entertainments at their own expense." Finally, the author's custom of filling out abbreviations in the same manner as he supplies missing portions leads to confusion at times. Misprints are of course rare. On page 149, the reference to Dessau should be 8562 not 8652, and the name Wilmanns—whose collection might well have been discarded for Dessau—is misspelled on p. 219.

TENNEY FRANK.

The New Greek Comedy, *Κωμῳδία Νέα*. By Ph. E. Legrand. Translated by JAMES LOEB, with an introduction by JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE. Pp. xix + 547. London, Heinemann; New York, Putnam, 1917. \$4.50.

In publishing this volume Mr. JAMES LOEB has further increased our debt of gratitude to him for his devotion to the cause of classical studies. His establishment of the Loeb Classical Library and his translation of important French works on the Greek drama in order to make them more accessible to English readers had already marked him as a good friend of the classics. To his excellent English versions of Decharme's *Euripide et l'Esprit de son Théâtre* and Maurice Croiset's *Aristophane et les Partis à Athènes* is now added a free, fluent and idiomatic translation of Legrand's scholarly and authoritative treatise on New Comedy, which was published in the *Annales de l'Université de Lyon*, fascicule 22 (1910). Inasmuch, however, as the translator's purpose was to adapt the English version to general readers rather than to specialists, he asked the author to make such omissions as were necessary to this end, before the work of translation was begun. In pursuance of this suggestion Legrand left out long footnotes, unessential details, many illustrations of his statements, and a multitude of quotations in the French original, thus reducing its size by one-fourth.

The work of translation has been done so well, and the result is such readable English, that one hesitates to call attention to any slips, however small, lest he seem to detract from the high praise that is due. Yet mistakes are inevitable in so large a book. There is a wrong translation of *me tromper* on pp. 268 f., arising from the failure to recognize that the verb here is reflexive. It does not signify "to deceive me," but "to make a mistake." It occurs in the translation of Menand. *Ἐπιτρ.* 307, τοῦ διαμαρτεῖν μηδὲ ἐν προτέρα λέγουσα, which is perfectly clear, and means "in order that I may not make a single mistake by speaking first." Legrand is hardly correct here in saying that the Greek sentence is clumsily constructed. On p. 334 *charcutier* "sausage-seller" is wrongly translated "charcoal-burner." In the form of the names Peisthetaerus (p. 34) and Kallippos (p. 188) Mr. Loeb follows the MSS in opposition to all the editors as well as Legrand. Both forms are without parallels. Kallippos should be written Callippus, for Mr. Loeb consistently employs the Latinized forms of Greek proper names. The only exception observed is Asclepios on p. 377. Elenchus, too, might have been used in place of Elenchos (pp. 395 f.) Other slight mistakes in proper names occur in Aegistheus, p. 233, Gumniasticus, p. 188, Γραμματεῖς διαποιός, p. 440, and Συνεργαζόμενοι, p. 524. The proof-reading, though generally good, does not equal

that shown in the French original. The majority of the typographical errors are in Greek accents and breathings. Two errors of Legrand are repeated, viz., *Hermes*, 1900, p. 6239 (on p. 389), and $\mu\acute{\epsilon}$ for $\mu\eta$ in *Ar. Ach.* 112 quoted on p. 479. The slight importance of the things that are here criticized bears testimony to the high character of the translation.

The index compiled under the supervision of Professor Capps is a decided improvement on the French work which has none.

TRINITY COLLEGE, N. C.

CHARLES W. PEPPLER.

Handbook of Aboriginal American Antiquities; Part I: Introductory; The Lithic Industries. (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 60.) By W. H. HOLMES. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1919. xvii, 380 pp., 222 figs.

Until very recently the teaching of Anthropology in our universities has been severely handicapped by the lack of suitable textbooks on the American field. The literature of the subject was scattered among more or less obscure periodicals in the form of short and usually highly technical papers on limited subjects. The same lack faced the layman in any attempt to gain a general acquaintance with American archaeology and ethnology. Within the last decade, however, there have appeared numerous handbooks by recognized authorities, accurate and complete enough to be of much service to the professional anthropologist, yet also suited to the needs of the college student and the general reader. The latest of these is the work under review, which is the first volume of a series designed "to assemble and present the antiquities of the Continent in such a manner and order as to make them readily available to the student." Further additions to the series are to be devoted to stone implements, sculpture, pottery, architecture and other manifestations of aboriginal American technology.

The present volume is introductory. To quote from the preface: "it deals with the scope of archaeologic science, the character, extent, and classification of its subject matter, the progress of research; with the several important problems which present themselves for solution, including those of race-origin, migrations, culture evolution, and chronology; with the ethnic characterization areas; with the acquirement of the substances employed in the arts; and finally with the manipulation of stone."

After setting forth the aims and scope of Anthropology the author passes on to the question of the American race. It is shown that America can hardly have been the cradle of man-

kind, for no traces of geologically ancient man, such as have been found in many parts of the Old World, have ever come to light in the Western Hemisphere. The Indians, therefore, undoubtedly came from without; and, as the race is essentially a homogeneous one, does not show for example any signs of being a cross between any two of the great divisions of mankind such as white, yellow or black, it presumably came in from one direction. As the Indian race is physically most nearly allied to the peoples now inhabiting northeastern Asia, and as the most practical crossing-place between the Old and New Worlds is found at Bering Straits, the conclusion is that the Americas were peopled from that direction.

It is next shown that the incoming tribes must have been in a low state of culture because no other than primitive forms of native civilization have ever reached the shores of Bering Sea. Hence the great diversity of Indian cultures—ranging all the way from the lowest savagery in the case of the Seri of the Gulf of California to relatively high civilization among the Incas, Aztecs and Mayas—must have been produced after the arrival of the people in the Western Hemisphere. These and the multitude of intermediate cultures are of native growth uninfluenced, in all probability, from without.

At this point Professor HOLMES "hedges" a bit by pointing out a number of similarities between Old and New World cultures; and dwells rather too lovingly, it seems to the reviewer, upon the resemblances between the temples and sculptures of Central America and those of Cambodia, Java, and India. These particular resemblances are, of course, obvious and striking and have been used for many years by the romantic and unscientific as arguments for all sorts of theories as to prehistoric voyages and other improbable contacts. The analogies are, however, entirely superficial; this has been proved again and again, and it seems a pity that so persistent a popular fallacy should be given even negative encouragement by so prominent and, in other lines, so conservative an authority as Professor HOLMES.

On the question of the time of the advent of the Indians Professor HOLMES provides a very full discussion. He takes up and fully analyzes all the evidence which has so far been brought forward in support of the pre-glacial and glacial presence of man in America. The California finds, such as the famous "Calaveras skull"; the crude argillite implements from Trenton, N. J.; the "Lansing skull"; the South American pampas and cave discoveries, all of which have had in their day ardent supporters and wide newspaper publicity, are weighed one by one and found wanting in scientific conclusiveness. In this discussion Professor HOLMES is on very familiar ground, as he has for many years made it his particular task to investigate all finds attributed to early man in America. It must be admitted that

while he has been a harsh and at times even a seemingly biased critic of such finds, his position has been a sound one, and that the burden of proof still rests on the protagonists of early man. His conclusion is (p. 94) "that the continent was probably not reached and occupied until after the final retreat of the Glacial ice from middle North America."

In the second section of the book North, Middle and South America are divided into twenty-two geographic areas of "culture characterization." The archaeology of each one of these areas presents enough local peculiarities to separate it from its neighbors. The discussions of the areas are of necessity very brief, but enough data are given on the environment, resources and cultural characteristics of each to provide the general reader with a good bird's-eye view of the archaeology of the New World, and to supply the student or the curator with a very handy system of classification.

The third and fourth parts, comprising roughly the second half of the "Handbook," are devoted to a study of the acquisition of minerals by the Indians and the technique of their working of stone. In these sections Professor HOLMES, who is without doubt not only the dean but also the most profound student of technological Anthropology in the United States, has presented a wealth of information, a large part of it original. Of greatest interest are the descriptions of the quarries from which the aborigines extracted the hard stones for the manufacture of their arrow-points, knives and other chipped implements; the mines where they procured mica, native copper, turquoise and ochre-pigments; and the enormous works of the Central and South American peoples who cut the blocks of stone for their temples and monuments from the solid ledges. The vast extent of these undertakings, carried on without the use of explosives or even in most cases of metal tools, will prove a great surprise to the reader, and the numerous and very clear illustrations will serve to make the processes of work and the difficulties encountered by the workmen very graphic.

In the closing chapters are brought together all the available data on the actual manufacture of stone implements. In America alone has a stone age people survived to the present day, and this section is of particular value because it embodies so much material derived from observation, by the author and others, of actual work in stone as carried on by living Indians. There is also a mass of information gleaned from painstaking experiments in stone-working by Professor HOLMES himself. Archaeologists working in regions whose people have long since passed beyond the stone age will find in these chapters much to help them in interpreting the relics which they may uncover.

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A Structural and Lexical Comparison of the Tunica, Chitimacha, and Atakapa Languages. By JOHN R. SWANTON. Bulletin 68 Bur. Am. Ethnology. 1919. Pp. 1-56.¹

In this brief paper Dr. SWANTON first shows that all three languages share essentially the same speech-form; he next gives a comparative table of structural elements; thirdly, a comparative vocabulary follows; and, lastly, we have a list of the more important sound-shifts with examples. Dr. SWANTON comes to the inevitable conclusion that although Tunica, Chitimacha, and Atakapa have hitherto been considered as independent stocks, they are in reality only widely divergent members of a single stock.

It is quite likely that on further investigation some of Dr. SWANTON's comparisons will be found not to be valid; but it is equally probable that others will have to be added. In short, enough material has been presented to substantiate his claims. As a model in method his volume should prove a wholesome lesson to a number of daring investigators.

I have refrained from detailed criticism as it is obviously uncalled for in a journal designed for the general philologist. At the same time it may be well to point out that many of the phonetic shifts which will seem so strange to the Indo-Europeanist, as a matter of fact have parallels within the dialects of other large American stocks. For example the interchange of l, r, y occurs in Algonquian and Siouan; n and l Algonquian, Wakashan, Uto-Aztecan; t and n Algonquian; m and w Eskimoan and Nadene (if this last be a single stock); the interchange of m and p has a close parallel (m and b) in Algonquian and Athabaskan. It seems to me that Dr. SWANTON would have strengthened his case had he cited these parallels and others. However, this is a minor point so long as he has proved his thesis.

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Penobscot Transformer Tales, *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 1, pp. 187-244. 1918.¹

The Penobscot texts contained in the above are the first to be recorded in that language, and all Americanists will thank Dr. SPECK for his work as it will further comparative linguistic

¹ This review is printed with the permission of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

work. The texts are accompanied by interlinears and free translations, which give the professional Algonquianist a good control.

Grateful though we are for these Penobscot texts, it may be well to point out some of their short-comings. A study of the texts shows very clearly that the phonetic scheme used is not entirely satisfactory. If *a* and *ə* are really distinct sounds (which I doubt), Dr. SPECK should have been more discriminating in their use: as it is, they frequently interchange in the same morphological units under exactly the same conditions. Similarly, from the variants it seems quite clear that surd stops should be always aspirated terminally, and this is supported by the evidence of other Algonquian languages (e. g. Fox, Peoria, Potawatomi, etc.). Something similar must be the case regarding the variants *-al*, *-al'*, *-əl*. Such variants as *saŋk'hi*, *sakh(i)*, *sakh(i)*, "outside, exposed to view," [Fox *sāgi-*], etc. are the ordinary kind made by most Americanists, and offer little trouble, but it may be pointed out that a careful analysis of texts and subsequent revision will eliminate many of them. But a careful analysis is just what is lacking in the present series of texts. For example in the third tale on the last line of the right-hand column of p. 192 *udi·da'mən name's·əduk* is translated in the interlinear by "he said to the fishes," and somewhat similarly in the free translation. The vocative plural *name's·əduk* of course shows that the translation should be "he said, O fishes." In the same way, on the top of the right-hand column of p. 216, *se'ka·'wit* is translated "I conquer" on line 2, but "conquer me" on line 4. The final *-it* shows at once that 3d person animate singular is the subject and the 1st person singular the object. In short, Dr. SPECK seems to have been dependent on his Indian informant, at least to a large extent, regarding grammatical forms. The same holds true apparently for the translation of individual words. For example *elkwe'si·man* "as you lie down" (223) and *e'lkwe'bi·lit* "facing in front of" (214) can not both be translated entirely correctly; and the last in any case is entirely too free for an interlinear: note *e·'bit* "sitting there" [Fox *äpitä* "he that is seated, sitting"] on the same page.

If then, on the whole, we can not help feeling that from a linguistic point of view the Penobscot texts are to a certain extent disappointing, we must also note that the interspersed notes on ethnological matters are of high value, and that the texts contain by far the best Penobscot folk-lore and mythology thus far published.

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CORRIGENDA.

On p. 181, read i'pa"owagk' [for i'pa'owagki']; netenäne'mäpennä' "we (exclusive) think of him, her, them (animate)"; ketenänemenepennä' "we think of you (sing. or plural)."—T. M.

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VOL. XLI, 4.

WHOLE No. 164.

I.—ON OVERHEARING AS A MOTIF OF HINDU FICTION.¹

In the future Encyclopaedia of Hindu Fiction the 'overhearing' motif will figure large as one of the most common and prized devices of story. Its nature is very much that of a *deus ex machina*, designed, or rather intuitively produced, to save from death, disease, or catastrophe; to procure fairy-tale wealth and success; or to furnish helpful information or instruction in perplexing situations. Whenever and wherever the hero is in danger or trouble, he happens to overhear a pair of beings, divine, demonic, or animal who tell him how to extricate himself. If the hero is destined to emerge from poverty or low station, usually quite abysmal, to unexpected and not to be expected wealth or glory, the conversing pair point the way. And, again, if someone in the story needs guidance, moral or worldly-wise, his course will be determined by what two say to each other in conversation.

The motif is for the most part progressive. Rarely is a story designed around overhearing; the motif enters when there is a hitch, a point where the hearer of the story is perplexed as to what will come next, meaning, how will the narrator extricate himself, or save the situation. Just at that point the principal

¹ The present article continues the encyclopaedic treatment of Hindu fiction planned some years ago, and since then substantiated in a number of my own papers, and one by Dr. E. W. Burlingame; see this Journal, vol. XL, p. 1 note. I have published since, *The Dohada, or Craving of pregnant women: A Motif of Hindu Fiction*; and Dr. W. Norman Brown has published 'The Wandering Skull,' A. J. P. XL. 423 ff. Additional articles by pupils of mine or by myself are either in the press, or ready for the press.

person, or his aid and confidant will overhear to his advantage. The story usually has come to an *impasse*; the motif releases the stand-still.

The character of the conversation overheard, of the persons speaking, and of the suggestions and actions derived from them is distinctly two-fold, natural or magic. In the first kind we have a dramatic motif, imaginable in the world of experience, and often met with in experience; in the second kind the persons conversing, the things they report, and the actions following the report belong to fairy-tale. Hereinafter we shall designate the two kinds respectively as empirical and fabulous. A poor man overhears an old couple deliberating what they should do with their daughter and their money. They decide to consult the statue of a Bodhisattva, perhaps he will tell them in a dream, or otherwise. The poor man hides himself in the hollow of the statue and tells the superstitious couple to marry their daughter to the first man that comes to their door in the morning, himself, of course—that is empirical overhearing. A prince, blinded by a trick of adverse fate, passes the night under a banyan tree, and overhears a pair of gigantic Bhāraṇḍa birds, which are found in the fairy-tale fauna, but nowhere else. They tell that the father of a certain lovely but blind princess has proclaimed by beat of drum that any one who restores her sight shall obtain her hand and half the kingdom. Moreover, that upon this very tree grows a creeper whose sap restores sight. The prince cures his own blindness, hides himself in the tail-feathers of one of the Bhāraṇḍa birds who happens to be going to the city of the princess, and restores her sight—that is fabulous overhearing. The difference in atmosphere of the two classes is shown well by the illustrations just given; very rarely do the features of the two classes blend.

Theoretically, any pair of sentient and intelligent beings hold the conversation overheard. In the empirical class they must be humans. The fabulous class does not incline towards those whose intelligence or shrewdness might be presumed to be highest. Gods, personal and symbolic, sages, or ordinary human beings are overheard rarely. Thus there will be found in the following pages: Īśa and Bhavānī; a Yakṣa; five Yakṣas; Dewatāwā and Dewatāwī (house-divinity couple); image of a deity; two heaven dwellers; 'Doer and Deed'; 'Two Dancers'

(day and night) and 'Six Dice-players' (the seasons); undefined voices in the air; lamps at Divāli time; two ascetics in the air (*cāraṇaḡramaṇa*); abbot and his pupils. Animals figure most frequently, notably birds, but also jackals, famed for their yelp, as well as their cunning. Thus parrot couples, or parrot and maina (talking birds); two haṇsas; two cocks; two ravens; two little doves; eagle and her young; jay and her brood; two love birds (probably parrot and maina). Especially the fabulous bhāraṇḡa or bhāruṇḡa birds; and great birds in the nature of vultures. Undefined birds; Bihamgama and Bihamgamī (*vihaṃgama*); birds 'Sudrabror and Rudrabror.' Of other animals, two jackals; one jackal; monkey pair; two calves; two bullocks; bullock and dog; two serpents; two frogs. Very characteristic are Rākṣasī (ogress) and her children; and the bloodthirsty father and small boy in the crown of a tree.

On the whole the conversation of birds is the standard source of information. 'A little bird told me,' seems to be the rock bottom of the notion, founded upon the sincere folk-lore feeling that the chirp and twitter of birds is the prime and natural source of otherwise inaccessible information. So Sigfrid hears two birds talking above his head in Hagen's *Heldensagen*, vol. 1, p. 345. Or, woodpeckers warn Sigurd, after he has slain Fafnir, that he must also slay Fafnir's brother Regin, who 'scarce may be sackless of the deed,' and who also desires Fafnir's hoard; see *Völsunga Saga*, edited in the Camelot series by W. Halliday Sparling, p. 64.² At one point the story works its way to a curious salient: the birds become irritated at this everlasting eaves-dropping on the part of their overhearers. In *Pārçvanātha Caritra* 1. 231, the good Prince Lalitāṅga has lost his eyes in a bet with his evil servitor Sajjana. Miserable, he is sitting by night under a tree upon which perch two Bhāraṇḡa birds which will in due time tell him in conversation how to restore his sight. The younger bird asks the old bird, 'Father, is there any way by which sight may be restored?' The older at first answers evasively, 'because at night, surely, trees have ears.' This curious statement must not be regarded as a

² Tawney, in his *Translation of Kathāsaritsāgara*, vol. 1, p. 25 note, cites a Danish story called *Svend's Exploits*, in which that hero is instructed by a conversation of crows, overheard, as to the means by which he may successfully combat a dragon.

floating proverb, such as, 'the earth hears,' or 'walls have ears,' but as a brachylogic allusion to a definite occurrence. *Kathākoṣa*, p. 164, in its version of the story of *Lalitāṅga*, has in the same connection: 'My child, I will tell you in the day, after looking round, and not at night. Very cunning people wander about under the banyan tree, like *Vararuci*.'³ The same stanza is quoted in No. 26 of the *Gujarātī Pañcākhyānavārttika* (see *Hertel, Das Pañcatantra*, p. 144, note 2), to wit:

divā nirikṣya vaktavyaṁ ratrāu nāiva ca nāiva ca,
sañcaranti mahādhūrtā vaṭe vararucir yathā.

According to *Hertel* this stanza stands also at the head of No. 29 in *Hemavijaya's Kathāratnākara*. It alludes to the well-known story, *Kathās*. 5. 14 ff. in which *Vararuci*, hidden in a palm-tree, overhears the conversation of *Rakṣasas*, finds out why the dead fish laughed, and so saves the life of a Brahman, and himself gets out of a tight place. We observe that the idea that one must not blab secrets at night is here in a fair way to become a proverb, yet never became one.⁴

The motif is an old one, going back even to Vedic times. In *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 4. 1 and 2 *Janaṣruti* is a pious man, devoted to charity, 'spending much; cooking much; causing rest-houses to be built everywhere, so that people from everywhere might be entertained by him.' Some haṁsa-birds fly by at night: one says to the other: 'I say, blear-eye, don't you see, *Janaṣruti's* brilliance is spread out like the heavens, don't touch it, don't burn yourself!' The other haṁsa replies: 'What sort is he of whom you speak as tho he were *Rāikva* with the push-cart?' *Janaṣruti* overhears, institutes search for *Rāikva*, finds him sitting under his push-cart, scratching his itch. For all that, *Rāikva* owns the great *Upaniṣad* doctrine which *Janaṣruti* extracts from him only at the price of 1,000 cows, a gold necklace, a wagon with mules, and his own daughter. The motif occurs also a single time in the *Mahābhārata*; see below, p. 327.

Fabulous overhearing may be treated under the three heads indicated above, beginning with cases in which the conversa-

³ See *Tawney's* note which cites or quotes other Hindu and Western parallels to this trait.

⁴ This notion of hindering overhearing is also alluded to below, p. 316.

tion overheard saves from death, sickness, or other danger to person. One version of the classical story, 'Why the dead fish laughed,'⁵ alluded to just now, is as follows: King Yogananda sees his queen leaning out of a window to converse with a Brahman.⁶ Trivial tho the circumstance is, he flies into a passion and orders the Brahman to be put to death. As the Brahman is being led off, a fish in the market, dead tho it be, laughs aloud. The king stops the execution of the Brahman, and asks his minister Vararuci for an explanation of the mystery. On the advice of Sarasvatī, the goddess of wisdom, he takes up a position on the top of a palm-tree, and soon sees a horrible Rākṣasī coming past with her children. When they ask her for food, she says: 'Wait, and I will give you to-morrow the flesh of a Brahman, he was not killed to-day.' 'Why was he not killed to-day?' 'He was not executed because a fish in the town, tho dead, laughed when it saw him.' 'Why did the fish laugh?' 'The fish said to himself, all the king's wives are dissolute, for in every part of his harem are men dressed up as women. Nevertheless, while these escape, an innocent Brahman is put to death—and this tickled the fish so that he laughed.'

In Kathās. 29. 69 ff. Kīrtisenā, the virtuous wife of the merchant Devasena, maltreated by her step-mother during the absence of her husband, escapes from her home and wanders in the forest. One night she hides in the hollow of a tree, and she sees a terrible Rākṣasī approaching, accompanied by her young sons. The Rākṣasī ascends the tree, her sons after her, saying, 'Mother, give us something to eat.' The Rākṣasī says: 'To-day my children, I went to a great cemetery, but I did not obtain any food, and though I entreated the congregation of witches, they gave me no portion.' The Rākṣasī continues to tell how she appealed to Īśa who told her to go to the city of Vasudatta. Vasudatta is suffering from centipedes in his head, and will die; then the Rākṣasī will eat his flesh. Her children then ask: 'If the disease is discovered and removed will that king live, mother? And tell us how such a disease can be cured in him?' The Rākṣasī describes the cure which consists of anointing the head of the king, and applying hot fomentations, so that the

⁵ See the author in JAOS. xxxvi. 86.

⁶ In Durgaprasād's edition of Kathās. she merely looks at the Brahman.

centipedes will pass from the head into a pitcher of cool water.⁷ Kirtisenā practices upon the king, succeeds in curing him, is richly rewarded, and in due course is reunited with her husband.⁸

Some versions of the famous a-pra-çi-kha story, in which a murderer is found out, because he reports these four acrostic syllables which are the last message of his victim, avail themselves of the overhearing motif to save from death. In the version of this story in the *Kathāprakāṣa*, called *Brāhmaṇa-kathā*,⁹ a Brahman leaves the city of Ujjayinī in the company of a servant, because he was not considered worthy of the same honors as were paid to Kālidāsa. He arrives at Kālañjara, whose king bestows upon him munificent largess, whereupon he starts to return to his home. His servant, deciding to kill him for his treasure, is induced to report to his father the victim's last message, namely, the word *apraçikha*. Because no one can interpret this message, the king becomes melancholy, and is about to die. The sage Vararuci, passing the night on a fig-tree, overhears the conversation of a she-jackal with her young, in the course of which the acrostic is explained as consisting of the first syllables of the four lines of a verse, which means, 'This man having stepped upon the crest-lock of thy son, as he slept in the forest, cut off his head with his sword.' Then the servant is punished and the king returns to the normal enjoyment of his position.

In *Siddhi-Kür*, the Mongolian version of the story,¹⁰ the king consults all the wise men of his country as to the meaning of the message '*abaraschika*,' but they, being unable to interpret it, are threatened with execution. An humble priest among them escapes, hides under a tree, and hears 'a small boy' in the crown of the tree begin to cry. His father calls out: 'Do not cry, my son! To-morrow the king will execute a thousand men;

⁷ A totally different cure of centipedes in the head is performed by Doctor Jivaka in *Ralston's Tibetan Tales*, p. 103.

⁸ Tawney, in his *Translation of Kathāsaritsāgara*, vol. 1, pp. 260, and 263, note, has Western parallels to sundry points of this story. In O'Connor, *Folk Tales from Tibet*, p. 166, a boy overhears two ravens tell how to drive spiders from the ears of a princess.

⁹ See Eggeling in *Gurupājakāumudī*, p. 123.

¹⁰ See Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen*, pp. 147 ff.

if we do not eat the flesh of these men, who will eat it?' The boy asks 'Why will he execute a thousand men?' The father answers, 'Because they do not know the meaning of the word abaraschika.' The father explains the word, the overhearing priest reports, and the murderer is duly executed. The story is also reported by Grierson as Māithila folk-lore; see *Indian Antiquary* x. 366 ff. Cf. Zachariae in *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* in Berlin, 1903, pp. 16 ff. Cf. the similar acrostic story (du, sa, na, so) Lohakumbhi Jātaka (314).

According to Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 145, the Apraṇḍika story is reproduced as the 29th of Hemavijaya's Kathāratnākara. An echo of this story again introduces Vararuci as solver of riddles in the 26th story of the Gujarātī Pañcākhyānavārtika: ¹¹ A king is intrigued by a series of riddles which a parrot brings to him, written on a leaf of paper. Five hundred pundits in the king's durbar are unable to solve them; the king threatens severe punishment if they cannot find the solution within seven days. One of them Virocana (Vararuci) hides himself in a hollow tree, and overhears a pair of bhāraṇḍa birds, father and son. The little bhāraṇḍa is hungry; father puts him off for the next day when the king will slay 500 pundits whose blood the child may then drink. He then tells the solution of the riddles which Virocana takes home with him.

Once more the Kathāprakāśa ¹² has a story in which life is saved by overhearing, from the conversation of a she-jackal and her young, the solution of a riddlesome situation. The story is of particular interest, because there is emboxed within it another story in which overhearing unravels an even more tangled skein. The pair shows the motif at high water—both constant and mechanical:

Vibhiṣaṇa, king of the Rākṣasas, is told by a vassal Vidyumālīn that his panegyric (virudāvalī) is shared by Ripunjaya, king of Kānti. Because such participation means loss to him of the secret powers conferred by that panegyric, he sinks into melancholy. Mandodarā, wife of Rāvaṇa, bids him be of good cheer: she will find out whether Ripunjaya really possesses the magic powers, and not merely the empty sound of the panegyric.

¹¹ See Hertel, *ibid.* pp. 144 ff.

¹² Eggeling in *Gurupūjākāumudī*, pp. 121 ff.

She packs three skulls into a golden basket and sends them to Ripumjaya with the request to state their respective values.¹³ Ripumjaya refers the matter to all the jewelers of his city, but they say that they know how to appraise jewels, not skulls. Then Ripumjaya, in danger of losing his reputation for magic power, becomes low-spirited and refuses food and drink. During the general mourning that ensues, a wise man, Subuddhi, camps under a banyan tree outside the city, where is the lair of a she-jackal. She returns there by night without prey, and puts off her hungry young with the promise of a particularly rich feed next night. But she refuses further information, because rogues listen by night and bring schemes to naught.¹⁴ This she illustrates, to wit:

The wives of two kings, about to be confined, agree to marry their children to each other, in case they are of different sex. Both bear girls. One of them pretends that her child is a son, and in due time they are married. When the true state of things becomes apparent the 'bride's father angrily threatens war, but his ministers advise him to have the fake son-in-law slain during a hunt. When they ride out, the horse of the fake prince runs away, but stops at night under a tree. He overhears birds telling that under that very tree there is a well which has the property of changing sex. The fake prince avails himself of this information, and all turns out well.

This rather irrelevant story fails to assuage the hunger of the jackal young, so that the mother finally has to tell them that the king and many citizens will die of hunger and become their meat. She also betrays the secret of the three-skull test, all of which Subuddhi overhears and reports to the king. Thus the messengers who have brought the three skulls have to return without having robbed Ripumjaya of his magic superiority, and incidentally (thru starvation) of his life.

Once more the fundamental traits of this type appear in the muddled welter of the Siamese Paksi Pakaranam, or Bird Pañcatantra.¹⁵ The pious god Deva Brahma decides to destroy the

¹³ This is the *trikapālīparīkṣāṇa*, for which see the author in *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.*, vol. LVI, p. 36; Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 46.

¹⁴ See above, p. 312.

¹⁵ See Hertel, *ibid.*, p. 351 (No. xxiv).

impious god Loka Brahma by propounding riddles (Sphinx motif). Loka Brahma has seven days' leeway. He wanders about restlessly, until, in the evening, he hides in a hollow tree, on which is the nest of an eagle. The mother eagle returning without food, puts off her young until the next day when Deva Brahma will slay Loka Brahma; also explains the riddles. Loka Brahma is saved.

There is, next, a highly organized type of story, in which the friend of the hero saves him from a succession of dangers, imposed by a curse, or prearranged by destiny. In Kathās. 28. 113 ff., overhearing 'what seemed to be voices in the air' is the *deus ex machina*. A young prince, attended by a merchant's son, his friend, sets out for Ahichatra, in order to be married. The party camps on the bank of the river Ikṣumatī. The prince gives a wine-party, and, after he has gone to bed, begins to tell a story at the solicitation of his nurse. In the midst of it, being tired and intoxicated, he is overcome by sleep. So also his nurse; but the friend, who remains awake, hears the voices in the air. One of them says: 'The wretch has gone to sleep without telling his story; therefore, I pronounce a curse on him. To-morrow he shall see a necklace, and, if he takes hold of it, it shall cling to his neck and kill him.' Three other voices proclaim additional dangers to the life of the prince: death from eating the fruit of a mango tree; if he enters a house to be married, the house shall fall on him and kill him; if he enters his private apartment on his nuptial night, he shall sneeze a hundred times, and if some one there does not say a hundred times, 'God bless you,' he shall fall into the grip of death. And if the person who has heard all this shall inform him, in order to save his life, he also shall die. The merchant's son saves the prince from one peril after another, but, being present in his marital chamber when he sneezes, he is suspected, and ordered to be executed. Of course, in the end, he explains, and everything turns out well.¹⁸

A variant form in Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, pp. 74 ff. (Rama and Luxman); W. C. Griggs in A. M. Barnes, *The Red Miriok*, p. 53 (see W. Norman Brown, *JAOS.* xxxix, p. 45). The story

¹⁸ Tawney in his Translation, vol. 1, p. 253 note, cites Hindu and Western parallels.

is elaborated in a totally different way, introducing two divine birds, 'Bihangama and Bihangami,' in Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, pp. 40 ff.

In Day's collection (pp. 132 ff.) Bihangama and Bihangami again are overheard, so as to save life: Prince Sobur has married the wise daughter of a merchant. Six other daughters are jealous and throw ground glass into the marriage bed; this enters every pore of Sobur. In great pain he is carried back to his royal home. His wife, a dagger in her hand, starts for the prince's house. She sits down under a tree to rest; the young of a pair of birds, Bihangama and Bihangami, on that tree, are threatened by a serpent. This she cuts in two; the parent birds return and are told by the young how they had been saved. Then the bride overhears the two birds say that, if the dung on the soil about there be ground up and spread on the body of the prince, he will be cured. Moreover, that he, Bihangama, can take the young lady on his back. She gathers the dung, is carried by the bird, accomplishes the cure, and lives happily as queen of King Sobur. Andrew Lang, *The Olive Book*, p. 127, manipulates the story so as to introduce a princess Diwani, and two monkeys.

In Vikrama Carita (*Indische Studien*, xv. 344) the over-hearing motif promotes king Vikrama's standard rôle as a sort of Harūn-ar-Rashīd. Roaming by night he finds himself under a tree and hears the conversation of some birds: 'What wonderful thing has any one of us seen to-day?' Some bird answers: 'I am sorely grieved to-day. In the ocean on an island lives a Rākṣasa king to whom is offered daily a human being from one house after another. It is the turn of a friend of mine in a previous birth to offer his little son.' Vikrama, in obedience to his āudarya, goes and offers himself in place of the boy. The Rākṣasa, seeing him serene of countenance in his high purpose, asks him if he is not afraid of death. Vikrama tells him to attend to his business. The Rākṣasa, pleased, tells him to choose a boon. Vikrama says: 'From this day on desist from killing living beings.' The Rākṣasa consents.

In Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. 1, pp. 157 ff., a prince's wife misbehaves with a Nāgayā (cobra), and decides to kill her husband, the prince. The Nāgayā tells her to ask the prince where his death is, and she finds out that it is in his

thumb. The Nāgayā lies in wait for the prince, in order to bite him in the thumb, but is slain by the prince's retinue. The princess has a golden waist-chain made, places the Nāgayā in its case, and puts it round her waist. Then the princess proposes a riddle-contest to the prince: 'I will ask you a riddle. Should you be unable to explain it, I will kill you. Should you explain it, you shall kill me. He agrees, and she says: 'The Nāga belt is the golden waist-chain; explain it, friend!' He fails, so she is to kill him the next day. But the house-divinity living in an ironwood tree knows. The prince's eldest sister, coming for a visit, stays that night under the ironwood tree, overhears a conversation between the house-divinity and his wife (dewatāwā and dewatāwī) in which the riddle is explained. She tells the prince, just as he is about to be beheaded, and in his place is beheaded the princess.

In folk-lore there are a few cases in which overhearing not only saves life, but goes so far as to restore life to some one who has been iniquitously killed. Thus in Stokes, *Indian Fairy Tales*, pp. 5 ff., the Phulmatī Rānī has been killed twice by the hostile machinations of the shoemaker's wife, but she comes to life again in the house of the Indrāsan Rāja's gardener. The Indrāsan Rāja sees her, falls in love with her, and marries her. One night the shoemaker's wife smears her mouth with blood while she is asleep, and next morning accuses her of being a Rakṣas, who was sure to harm her husband. So Indrāsan Rāja cuts his beautiful wife in pieces. The Phulmatī's arms and legs grow into four houses; her chest becomes a tank, and her head a house in the middle of the tank, her eyes turn into two little doves. Indrāsan once rests in the house in the middle of the tank and overhears the two little doves say that he is the man who cut his wife to pieces, but that every midnight the Rānī and her servants come to bathe in the tank. The Rāja must get all their dresses, throw away all the yellow ones, keeping only the red one. The fairy servants pick up the yellow dresses and run away. The Rāja comes back to Phulmatī with the red dress, and she begs for it, because without it she must again die never to come to life again. The Rāja falls at her feet, begs her pardon and they are reconciled. And he gives her back her dress.

In Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Pargavas*, p. 464, a boy

overhears two birds tell how his murdered sweetheart can be regained. In Dracott, *Simla Village Tales*, p. 236, the hero hears two love-birds talking. One tells how she was the Avar Pari, the heroine, who had been enticed away from the hero, while he slept, and thrown down a well. Reunion follows.

In Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, pp. 136 ff., a Prince Beautiful has died trying to overcome obstacles (perform stunts) to gain the hand of a princess who will accept no one, unless he fulfills her impossible conditions. The king, her father, disgusted with the princess, who has in this way been the cause of the death of many suitors, orders her to be married to the dead prince, and both of them to be taken to the jungle. The princess falls in love with her beautiful dead husband. She overhears the conversation of two jackals, the outcome of which is, that the sap of the leaves of the tree under which the couple are lying should be applied to the ears, upper lip, temples, and also the wounds of the prince. He comes to life, and after further adventures, they live happily.

Related is Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Pargavas*, p. 309. A boy dies, his mother follows him to the next world. She overhears him telling his heavenly wife that he will be reborn to the same mother. He will then employ a number of ruses to accomplish his death. The mother, of course, frustrates all his efforts.

Next to saving from death, the overhearing motif furnishes the trick for curing disease. So in the story of Prince Lalitāṅga and his faithless servitor, which is told in *Pārçvanātha Caritra* 1. 61 ff.; in a briefer form in *Kathākoça*, pp. 160 ff.; and in *Suvabahuttarikathā*, No. 72 (see Hertel in *Festschrift an Ernst Windisch*, pp. 149 ff.).¹⁷ The story runs as follows: Prince Lalitāṅga is given over to well-meant liberality (*dāna*) which he carries to excess. Owing to a disagreement with his father about this matter, he leaves the royal city in the company of a servitor, named Sajjana, who, however, belies his name in being a wicked fellow (*durjana*). While traveling, they discuss the relative merits of virtue and vice as guiding principles of

¹⁷ According to Leumann, in a note on p. 239 of Tawney's *Translation of the Kathākoça*, the story is found also among the *Avacyaka Tales*.

life, Sajjana taking the side of vice. They make bets which are decided by judges against Lalitāṅga, who thereby loses to Sajjana his horse, his jewels, and, finally, his eyes. Blind Lalitāṅga sits under a banyan tree, and overhears the conversation of bhāruṇḍa birds. They tell of Puṣpavati, the blind daughter of Jitaṣatru, king of Campā. Jitaṣatru has had the drum beaten to proclaim that any one who shall cure her of her blindness shall marry her and obtain half the kingdom. There is a creeper under that tree whose sap cures blindness.¹⁸ Lalitāṅga cures his own eyes by the sap of that creeper, travels in the tail-feathers of one of the bhāruṇḍa birds to Campā, cures Puṣpavati, and marries her. Sajjana ultimately comes to grief.

The version of the Suvabāhuttarikathā substitutes characteristically for the Mephistophelian Sajjana, a barber, who is the type of a low-lived person in India.¹⁹ It shows also other signs of folk-lore treatment, and introduces traits from other stories (see Hertel, *Das Pāñcatantra*, pp. 127 ff., 279 ff.)

In Kathākoṣa, pp. 55 ff., Madanavati, beloved wife of king Siṅghadhvaḥ of Surapura, is afflicted by an evil smell which arises in her body. She had in a previous birth expressed loathing of the smell of a great hermit whose body, defiled with dirt, perspired in the heat of the sun. When the physicians pronounce her incurable, the king has a palace built in the middle of the forest, and abandons her there, in charge of trusty warriors. The queen, concluding that this is the fruit of her actions in a former life, bears her trial accordingly. She overhears the conversation of a parrot couple which reveals her prenatal fault. The hen-parrot asks her mate, 'My lord, is there any remedy for her complaint?' The cock-parrot says, 'If for seven days she worships the mighty Jina three times a day with sweet-smelling substances, she will be relieved of her affliction.' She does so, and is restored to her husband.

¹⁸ In a note to p. 443 of vol. 3 of Parker's *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, a prince overhears the conversation of two Dewatāwās who tell that the bark of the trees in which they live cures blindness. In Knowles' *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, p. 231, the bird Sudrabror tells the bird Rudrabror how an unfortunate king who has lost his country, his son, and his feet as well, may regain all.

¹⁹ See Bloomfield, *Life of Pārācānātha*, pp. 202 ff. Add Pūrābhadrā, p. 181 (bis); Jātaka 495.

In *Pañcatantra* 3. 10 (*Pūrṇabhadra* 3. 11, and so on), a prince wastes away because of a serpent in his belly.²⁰ He goes away from home in despair. A certain king is offended by one of his daughters, who, wisely instead of flatteringly, says to him: 'Enjoy, O great king, what is your destiny to enjoy!'²¹ She is married to the prince, who then happens to go to sleep upon an anthill. She overhears a conversation between the serpent in his belly and another serpent that has come out of the anthill, and learns how to cure her husband. The same story is woven into '*Wanderings of Vicram Maharajah*,' Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, pp. 120 ff. Benfey, *Das Pañcatantra*, 1. 370 cites Western instances in which animals reveal the cures for diseases.

Not only death and disease are cured by overhearing, but misfortunes and tricks of fate of all sorts are obviated, or disentangled by the same facile means:

In *Pārçvanātha*²² 7. 428 ff. queen Rati robs her co-wife *Jayasundarī* of her son, has him deposited in a temple of a divinity, and substitutes for him a dead child. The *Vidyādhara* king of *Kāñcanapūḥ* sees the boy and induces his childless wife to adopt him, under the name of *Madanāñkura*. When the boy has grown up, trained in the arts (*vidyā*) of the *Vidyādhara* race, he roams in the air, and sees his own true mother, *Jayasundarī*, standing sadly at a window of the palace. Falling in love with her, he puts her upon his chariot. She in turn falls in love with him. *Madanāñkura*'s brothers in a previous birth are in heaven, and thru superior insight know that their brother has carried off his own mother. Assuming the guise of a pair of monkeys, they jump upon a branch of the tree under which *Madanāñkura* sits with his mother. The male monkey suggests to the female that they should bathe in the holy bathing place of *Kāmuka*, possessed of the property of turning animals into the glorious state of men. The female refuses, because the human being under them, who had carried off his own mother, was too depraved to have even his name mentioned. *Madanāñkura*, overhearing, gathers that *Jayasundarī* is his mother, and,

²⁰ Cf. Benfey, *Das Pañcatantra*, 1. 369.

²¹ Karma motif: an analog of this story in *Kathākoça*, p. 185; see the author in *JAOS.* xxxvi. 81.

²² This story also in *Kathākoça*, pp. 49 ff.; a similar motif is introduced in the same text, p. 58.

simultaneously, Jayasundarī realizes that Madanāñkura is her son. By consulting a Muni they verify their relation, and are, in due time, restored to their proper stations as wife and son of king Hemaprabha.

The preceding story is the source of a folk-lore version, narrated by Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, pp. 105 ff., where two calves expose satirically man's brutish ignorance and immorality. Other versions or fragments of this story may be found in Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. 3, p. 196; Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*², pp. 117 ff.; and in Pandit Naṭesa Sāstri's *Story of Madana Kāma Rāja*, as quoted by Parker, *ibid.* p. 197 note.

In Prabandhacintāmaṇi, p. 173, a certain merchant devotes himself to a courtesan. His wife, distressed, consults a man from the country of Gāuḍa, who says: 'I will put your husband into such a state that you can lead him about with a string.' He gives her a drug, she administers it to her husband, and, lo! he becomes a bull before her eyes. She has to bear the reproaches of the whole world in consequence. One day, when she leads her husband to pasture and rests herself under a tree, she overhears a conversation between Īva and Bhavānī from which she gathers that in the shade of that very tree grows a simple which confers on any creature the state of man. The woman thereupon marks out with a line the shadow of that tree; feeds the bull the plants growing within, whereupon he is restored to his original form.

In all preceding instances the uses of overhearing are, as it were, negative, since neither death, disease, nor misfortune are in the usual order of experience. There is another sphere for this motif, positive, brilliant, and fairy-tale-like, namely, when the listener overhears and obtains a tip which leads him out of poverty or lowly station into affluence, royalty, or other high position. There is here one very characteristic type which deserves first treatment, namely, that in which the conversing parties tell of grand benefits which may accrue to others *at their own expense*. Of this they are quite proud, in the manner of the school-boy who boasts of the largest mumps or the most barking cough. Indeed the entire conception foots somehow in popular humor. As a rule there is no reason why the conversers should betray the secret which is sure to make meat of

them, so that in one very classical instance the trait is introduced rationalistically by an episode well calculated to produce preliminary irritation in the souls of the conversers. In Nigrodha Jātaka (445) three youths Nigrodha, Sakha, and Pottika are returning from the University of Takkasilā, where they have finished their education. They arrive at Benares, and pass the night in a temple-court under a tree. Some cocks are roosting upon that tree, and the cock at the top lets a dropping fall upon a cock near the bottom: 'What is that fell upon me?' asks this cock. 'Do not be angry, Sir,' answers the other, 'I did not mean to do it.' 'Oh, so you think my body is a place for your droppings! You don't know my importance, that is plain!' To this says the other, 'Oho, still angry, tho I declared I did not mean it! And what is your importance, pray?' 'Whoever kills me and eats my flesh will receive a thousand pieces of money this very morning: is not that something to be proud of?' 'Pooh, pooh,' quoth the other, 'proud of a little thing like that! Why if any one kills me and eats of my fat, he will become a king this very morning; he that eats the middle flesh, becomes commander-in-chief; he that eats the flesh about the bones, he will be treasurer!' Needless to say, the two cocks soon fulfil their glorious destiny. See also Siri Jātaka (284).

In general, however, this fabulous property of birds is overheard and utilized without anything that has passed to motivate it. A parrot and a maina quarrel as to who is superior: he who eats the maina's flesh becomes a minister, the parrot's a king; Temple, *Indian Antiquary* xi. 342, and note; Steel and Temple, *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 139. Cf. also *Ind. Antiquary* iv. 261; xvii. 75; *The Orientalist*, vol. ii, p. 150; Swynnerton, *Indian Nights' Entertainment*, pp. 276 ff.; Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*², pp. 78, 167 ff.; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. i, p. 80 bottom; Naṭesa Sāstrī, *The Story of Madana Kāma Rāja*, p. 125. Steel and Temple, on p. 326 of their book, translate the following verse from folk-lore:

'Who kills a parrot and eats him under a tree,
Should have no doubt in his mind, he will be a great king.
Who kills and eats a maina, let him be patient,
Let him not worry, he will be minister for life.'

In Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, p. 129, a Brahman, skilled in omens, hears a cock crow, and says: 'He who eats the flesh of this cock will become king.' See the foot-note there for important Western parallels. In Jülg, *Kalmükische Märchen*, p. 11, the son of a Khan and his faithful servitor, launched on adventure, overhear the conversation of two frogs, a yellow and a green: 'If the prince and his companion but knew, they could cut off our heads with a stick; if the prince would cut off mine, the golden-yellow frog's head, and his companions thine, the emerald-green frog's head, they would both spit gold and jewels.'

More frequently animate beings do not incidentally immolate themselves in order to elevate the social status of their overhearers. The determinant is here not vanity, but expressed or implied benevolence. The implication of benevolence belongs to the good-fairy type. But to some extent at least the conversation is of the purely *deus ex machina* variety. The story needs it; it is invented, and soon becomes commonplace. Here belongs first of all an important feature of the story of Vāsavadattā (Gray's summary, p. 29): Prince Kandarpaketu, in love with a dream-maiden, overhears the conversation of a parrot with his maina wife. He tells that Vāsavadattā also had seen in a dream a youth of matchless beauty (Kandarpaketu), and that her maid Tamālikā had volunteered to tell him of her love. The lovers are soon united. In Pārṣvanātha 7. 87 ff. the two princes Amarasena and Varasena are exiles from court, owing to the intrigues of their stepmother. In a forest they overhear a parrot couple aver that they, the two princes, are worthy of happiness, but that they have not the means of procuring it. The female then tells that on the mountain of Sakūṭa grow two Sahakāra trees, sprinkled by the Vidyādhara (nabhaṣcara) with their magic art (vidyā). The fruit of one of the trees procures royalty; he who eats the other, from his mouth fall daily in the morning 500 dīnārs. The parrots fetch the fruits: in due time Amarasena eats the fruit of royalty; Varasena that of wealth. Amarasena becomes king, and Varasena, after adventures, becomes yuvarāja (heir-apparent). A parallel story, Jina-kīrti's Pālagopālakathānakam, stanzas 79 ff., shows the two princes Pāla and Gopāla in a similar plight: two air-going ascetics (cāraṇaḥramaṇa) tell them of the good things in store

for them; see Hertel, *Berichte der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1917, p. 15 (i. 79 ff.). Another, Kathākoṣa, pp. 125 ff., substitutes a benevolent Yakṣa for the parrot pair; but the parrot pair reappears in the 34th story of the Gujarāṭi Pañcāhyānavārttika; see Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, pp. 147 ff. Here, however, the conversation of the parrots is not motivated by benevolence.²³

The Vikrama Carita has a similar story in which five Yakṣas are substituted for the standard pair; see *Indische Studien* xv. 359: King Jayaṣekhara of Padminiṣaṇḍa is dispossessed of his kingdom in consequence of a quarrel with his relatives. In the company of his chief queen he travels on foot to strange lands. He passes the night under a tree in the neighborhood of a city, and overhears the conversation of five Yakṣas on the tree: 'The lord of this city will die to-morrow; to whom will his kingdom go?' 'To him who sleeps under this tree.' The king goes next morning towards the city whose king has just died. The ministers institute the five ordeals for selecting a king, the pañcādivyādhivāsana,²⁴ whereupon, by divine will, Jayaṣekhara succeeds to the kingdom.

In Lescallier, *Le Trône enchanté*, vol. 1, pp. 30 ff., Vikrama (Bekermadjiet), having lost his kingdom, takes service with the 'particulier' of Guzerat. The latter with his wife has taken residence in the city of Ujjayinī, in a quarter near the river. They overhear the yelp of a jackal which resembles a human voice. The wife asks her husband to listen attentively. He hears the jackal say that in the middle of the night there ought to appear floating on the river a corpse bearing four rubies and a ring of priceless value. He who should drag in the corpse and give it to the jackal to eat would instantly find the rubies in his hand, the ring on his finger, and in the sequel would become king in Ujjayinī and sovereign of all the country of Mālava. Vikrama retrieves the corpse, finds the jewels on his

²³ Some features of this story in Swynnerton's *Romantic Tales from the Panjāb*, pp. 410 ff.; Steel and Temple, *Wide-Awake Stories*, pp. 138 ff.

²⁴ See Edgerton, *JAOS.* xxx. 158 ff.; J. J. Meyer, *Hindu Tales*, pp. 131, 212; Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 374; Bloomfield, *Life of Paṇḍva-nātha*, pp. 199 ff.

person, liberates Ujjayinī from the exactions of an evil demon, and duly becomes king.²⁵

In Kathās. 26. 1 ff. Çaktideva, in search of the golden city, suffers shipwreck, but manages to save himself by the branch of a large banyan tree which grows on the shore. This tree is inhabited by great birds of the nature of vultures. He overhears one of them say: 'I went to-day to the golden city to disport myself, and to-morrow morning I shall go there again to feed at my ease.' Çaktideva hides himself in the tail-feathers of that bird,²⁶ reaches his goal, and in consequence marries four beautiful sister princesses.

In Garcin de Tassy, *Rose de Bakaoli*, p. 371, a prince overhears a jay tell her brood how to reach a certain tree, the bark of which may be made into a cap of invisibility. Its fruit makes one able to disguise one's self at will and to remove disguise; grants invulnerability and power to fly thru the air; and its leaves heal wounds. The same in W. A. Clouston, *Group of Eastern Romances and Stories*, p. 298. In O'Connor, *Folk-Tales from Tibet*, p. 160, an unfortunate boy hears two ravens discussing his case. Following their advice, he proceeds to a certain village nearby, where good fortune attends him. In Chilli, *Folk-Tales of Hindustan* (2d ed.), p. 193, a princess overhears a parrot telling a maina that she (the princess) looks foolish with only one ruby in her hair. The princess sets wheels in motion to make her secure more rubies.

To some extent magic or fabulous overhearing passes from the sphere of worldly aggrandizement into that of moral or spiritual gain; it is worthy of remark that the oldest two instances of overhearing, namely, that of Chāndogya Upaniṣad, quoted above p. 312, and the illustration following here, are from this quasi-religious sphere: In *Mahābhārata* 13. 42 Vipula, a trusted pupil of the great Rishi Devaçarman, has saved the honor of Ruci, Devaçarman's wife. During Devaçarman's absence from home Vipula had been left in charge of Ruci, to preserve her against the amorous advances of Indra. This he had done suc-

²⁵ Similar stories in Dracott, *Simla Village Tales*, p. 3; Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, pp. 177 ff.

²⁶ Many Western parallels to this mode of travel in Tawney's *Translation*, vol. 1, p. 221, note.

cessfully by entering her soul and completely controlling her actions, so as to make her, who was naturally wayward, impassive. Indra had to slink away discomfited.²⁷ Now Ruci's sister Jyeṣṭhā was the wife of Citraratha, king of the Aṅgas. Ruci is invited by her to a feast, at which she appears adorned with flowers that had fallen from a heavenly nymph (Apsaras). Jyeṣṭhā covets similar flowers, whereupon the Sage Devaçarman, Ruci's husband, orders that same disciple, Vipula, to fetch them. On the way he overhears two dancers and six dice-players swear, anent their contests, that they would tell the truth, lest they should share Vipula's future fate. Vipula is conscious of sin, in that he has not told his master that he had penetrated into Ruci's soul. Devaçarman explains to Vipula that the two dancers are day and night;²⁸ the six dicers, the seasons. From them nothing can be hidden. And he pardons his offence.

In Pāṛgvanātha Caritra 2. 517 ff. a teacher, named Kṣīrakadamba, is teaching a class of three boys, the king's son included, on the palace roof. He overhears two ascetics flying thru the air (cāraṇaḡramaṇa) say to one another: 'One of these boys will go to heaven; the other two to hell.' Kṣīrakadamba, sorely grieved, wishes to find out which is which. So he gives to each of the boys a 'dough-cock' (piṣṭakurkuṭa) ²⁹ saying: 'These are to be slain where no one sees.' Two of the boys 'slay' their cocks in lonely places, but the third reflects: 'Yonder Sun sees; I see; the birds see; the Protectors of the World see; and all that are gifted with higher knowledge see. Therefore I must not slay the cock; the Teacher has merely desired to test our intelligence.'

In Pañcatantra 2. 5 Somilaka, a poor weaver, leaves his native village to try his fortune at a distance. In three years' time he saves 300 gold pieces with which he returns home. Passing the night under a fig-tree, he hears the conversation of two men of terrifying aspect. One says: 'I say, Doer, you know full well that this Somilaka may not possess more than is

²⁷ See the author in Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc., Vol. LVI, pp. 7 ff.

²⁸ Cf. the two women at the loom—day and night, Mahābh. 1. 3.

²⁹ See Bloomfield, Life of Pāṛgvanātha, pp. 195 ff. Analog to this story, Silavimāṇsana Jātaka (305): 'There is no such thing as secrecy in wrong-doing'; cf. Morris, Folk-Lore Journal iii. 244.

needful to feed and clothe himself with.' The second says: 'Ah, Deed, it is my duty to grant them that labor rewardful fruit. The outcome is in your hands; do you therefore take his gold away.' Somilaka's gold vanishes. He tries again; again it vanishes. He then attempts suicide, but, in the sequel, is taught to be satisfied to enjoy what he has, as he goes along.

In *Pārçvanātha Caritra* 8. 257 ff. the converted thief *Çrī-gupta*, while passing the night on the branch of a banyan tree, overhears the conversation of a parrot couple. The male tells the female that he has learned from a certain Sage that there is a holy bathing place (*tirtha*) at *Çatruñjaya* to which all the blessed *Sādhus* beginning with *Çrīpuṇḍarika*, have resorted; by bathing there one may rise in the scale of existences. *Çrī-gupta* asks the parrot to communicate to him the instruction which he had from the Sage. Thereupon he turns ascetic, goes to heaven, and in due time attains to perfection.

In *Pārçvanātha* 3. 382 ff. a young parrot finds refuge in a hermitage. There he overhears the abbot tell his pupils that a mango tree upon a certain island in the middle of the ocean had been bedewed with ambrosia, and that its fruit therefore restored youth, by curing deformities, sickness, and old age. The young parrot, mindful of his decrepit parents, worn out with age, considers that he may now pay the debt of their love. He flies to the magic tree and fetches for them one of the mangoes.

In *Kincaid, Deccan Nursery Tales*, p. 97, a king overhears the lamps, at *Divālī* time, relate the true story of his calumniated daughter-in-law. He restores her to favor. *Ibid.*, p. 109, a man overhears a bullock and a dog, his own father and mother reborn, tell of the bad treatment he gave them. In *Bompas, Folklore of the Santal Pargavas*, p. 100, a villager overhears a bullock tell another that the king's elephant owes it Rs. 500, being a debt incurred in a previous existence. He declares that he can, for that reason, defeat the elephant in a fight. The fight is arranged; bets are made; the bullock is victorious. In *Upreti, Proverbs and Folklore of Kumaun and Gashwal*, p. 340, a *Baniya* overhears an image of a deity say that a certain *Pandit* is to receive Rs. 1000 on a certain day. He buys the *Pandit's* proceeds of him for that day for Rs. 100. But when the day comes, the *Pandit* gets no money. The *Baniya*, in anger, slays the

image. The image holds him fast, and, before letting him go, makes him pay the entire sum to the Pandit. The same story in *Ind. Antiquary* ix. 1.

In considering, finally, the cases of natural or empirical overhearing we note, in the first place, that they are fewer and more heterogeneous. Overhearing in the world of real things can be only occasional when practised honestly, and can hardly be expected to develop into many varied types. Moreover it can take place only between human or quasi-human beings, which brings down the motif from the romantic to the obvious and monotonous. At its best empirical overhearing is either dramatic, or anecdotal. There is little doubt that the motif, as a whole, owes its popularity with the story-tellers to its fabulous or mysterious side, that in which *bhāruṇḍa* birds, ogres, howling jackals, and mysterious voices report the fanciful possibilities of the fairy world, where the canons of time, space, number and every sobering empirical experience are annulled. But for its magic, overhearing would scarcely figure as a prime factor in the technique of fiction; its empirical instances might pass unnoticed.

The tendency to employ empirical overhearing in anecdotes is well illustrated by our first two cases. In *Paṛiṣṭaparvan* 8. 290 ff. *Cāṇakya*, the wily minister of *Candragupta*, having been defeated in an attempt to conquer *Pāṭaliputra*, is fleeing along with the young king, and arrives at the hut of an old laboring woman.³⁰ She has just prepared supper for her children, and one of them, greedily putting his finger into the middle of the dish, is burnt and begins to cry. The crone rails at him for being as big a fool as *Cāṇakya*. *Cāṇakya*, overhearing himself alluded to in such terms, enters the hut, and asks the woman the meaning of what she has just said. The woman replies that the child had burned his finger, because he would eat from the middle of the dish, instead of from the outer part which was cool: similarly, *Cāṇakya* had been defeated, because he had not secured the surrounding country before attacking the stronghold of the enemy. *Cāṇakya* takes the lesson to heart.

³⁰ *roraṇṇā*: see *rora*, *ib.* 8. 72; *Çālibhadra Carita* 1. 91 = *rāura*, *Pārçvanātha Caritra* 8. 221. The words seems to be restricted to *Jaina Sanskrit*.

In Kathāprakāṣa (Eggeling in Gurupūjākāumudī, pp. 123 ff.) King Virasiṅha makes inquiry in the durbar (sabha) as to the abilities of young Bhāravi, the future great poet. His father tells the king that Bhāravi is a perfect ignoramus. Bhāravi, furious, is determined to slay his father. Sword in hand, he steals to his bedroom, where he overhears his mother reproaching his father for this defamation of his own son. His father satisfies his mother by telling her that he did not wish to praise Bhāravi to his face, but that, in fact, there is not his like in the sabha. Bhāravi falls on his knees, and begs his father to forgive his intended crime.

The anecdotal quality of overhearing is marked strongly in Pañcatantra 2. 2, where the motif is merely introductory to the real point of the anecdote. Tāmracūḍa, a monk, narrates how he found shelter in the house of a Brahman, and overheard a quarrel between the latter and his wife. The Brahman says: 'O lady, to-morrow the sun enters its northerly course, and I shall go for alms. You must, in honor of his majesty, the Sun, give sesame to a Brahman.' Quoth she: 'Whence have you that are stricken with poverty sesame to give; since the day I married you I have had neither dainty nor ornament from you?' When he insists she finally recalls that she has a small stock of sesame. This she winnows, puts into water, and places in the sun. A dog makes his water into it. She decides to swap the winnowed sesame for unwinnowed, arguing that people will regard that a good bargain. She goes from house to house until she finds a certain housewife willing to make the exchange. But the housewife's husband, when he hears of the bargain, tells her to throw the sesame away: 'Not without purpose did Mother Cāṇḍilī offer winnowed for unwinnowed sesame; she had her reason surely!'

Again, the quality of anecdote is marked very clearly in part of a story in Neogi, Tales Sacred and Secular, p. 87: A childless king is looked upon with suspicion by his subjects, as being a harbinger of evil. Even the sweeper of the palace does not care to see his face the first thing in the morning, lest the day should not pass well with him. He eats his breakfast before seeing the king's ill-omened face. His breakfast over, the sweeper goes to work. A female of the palace notices him chewing betel, and says: 'The Mālee, chewing betel; have you broken

your fast so early?' 'I have,' returns the Mālee, 'I could not bear to go half empty every day from having seen the childless king's face the first thing in the morning.' The sweeper's answer is gall and wormwood to the king who happens to overhear it. Thru the power of a Yogin he obtains children, but on the condition that the youngest son is to be given to the Yogin who intends him for sacrifice.

The dramatic element finds its opportunity in connection with another motif, namely, the vulnerable spot (*chidra*)³¹ of an enemy or demonic being. In *Kathās*. 11. 31 ff.³² king Caṇḍamahāsenā pursues a boar in the forest. The boar enters a cave into which he is followed by the king. There he is confronted by a beautiful weeping maiden, Aṅgāravatī, who tells him that the boar is her father, the Dāitya (demon) Aṅgāraka; that she has fallen in love with him at sight, and is weeping because he is in danger of being devoured by her father. He bids her go before her father, to weep in front of him (cry trick), and to say: 'If any one were to slay thee, what would become of me?' She does so, and the Dāitya, laughing, says: 'Who could possibly slay me. I am invulnerable; only in my left hand is there an unguarded place, and that is protected by the bow.' The king, in concealment, overhears. Soon the demon takes his bath and proceeds to worship Śiva. At that moment the king rushes up and challenges him to fight. The demon, without interrupting his silence, lifts up his left hand to signal that he must wait a moment. The king immediately smites him with an arrow in that hand which was his vital spot.

Finding the weak spot also leads up to the confession of Rakṣashood. The idea that the practices of a wizard (*yātudhāna*) or demon (*rakṣas*) give rise to suspicion, accusation, and, finally, confession of demonhood, goes back to the very earliest Hindu conceptions; see the hymn RV. 7. 104, especially stanzas 14 ff. In Jülg, *Kalmükische Märchen*, pp. 27 ff. a fake wizard, who has been called in to cure a sick prince, overhears the conversation of two Rākṣasas, one of them the wife of that prince;

³¹ 'Heel of Achilles'; the motif begins in *Mahābh.* 13. 159; 16. 9; see also Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, vol. i, p. 157, and above, p. 319 top.

³² The story is repeated in *Kathās*. 112. 26 ff. For parallels see Tawney's Translation, vol. i, pp. 70 note, 572; vol. ii, p. 486 note.

the other a buffalo. Both these Rākṣasas believe that the fake wizard understands their nature, which he did not before he had overheard their conversation. In that they had agreed that, if any one commands them to show their true nature, they must obey. The wizard gives orders that, on the next day, all men should appear armed, and all women with bundles of fagots. He commands the Rākṣasas to show their nature; the men slay the buffalo Rākṣasa, and the women burn up the female Rākṣasi.

Otherwise empirical overhearing occurs either as a prime or progressive motif in the ordinary movement of a story. As such it might be featured in any modern drama, story or skit. Thus in the course of the Rasālu cycle, Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales of the Panjāb*, p. 135, Raja Hodi, the paramour of Koklā, Rasālu's queen, overhears a washerwoman discussing his case with her husband; or Rasālu himself, in distress at his misfortune, overhears the same couple discussing his troubles (l. c. p. 145). Charms and incantation are frequently overheard, so as to bring the talkers to grief. Thus in the Mukunda stories, treated last by Bloomfield, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LVI, pp. 12 ff.; or in Kathās. 20. 114; 37. 33. In the 'butter-blind' Brahman story, *Pañcatantra* 3. 16, a Brahman overhears by a ruse a conversation between an image of a goddess and his wife, which convinces him of her adultery, and enables him to destroy her paramour, and cut off his wife's nose.

In Jülg, *Kalmükische Märchen*, p. 53, a poor man overhears the conversation of an aged couple regarding the disposition of their unmarried daughter, Suvarṇadhārī, and their wealth. They agree to consult the statue of a Bodhisattva. The poor man hides within the statue, and when they consult it, he answers that they must bestow their daughter upon the man who appears first next morning at the door of their house. He goes there early in the morning and thus obtains Suvarṇadhārī and her *dot*.

In Kathās. 19. 16 ff.²² a wastrel merchant, Devadāsa, loses his all in gambling, and is abandoned by his wife who returns to her father. Devadāsa decides to ask his father-in-law for new

²² A similar story with different dénouement, Kathās. 21. 54 ff.

capital, but shrinks from entering his house on account of his ragged condition. He goes to the market-place and crouches by night outside of some shop. Observing his wife entering that shop for an assignation, he applies his ear to the door, and overhears the woman say to her paramour, that her husband's great-grandfather had secretly buried in the courtyard of his house, which now belonged to Devadāsa, four jars of gold, one in each corner. Devadāsa returns to his house, digs up the treasure, and sells the house for a large sum to his rival. When the latter fails to find the treasure he wants his money back; an altercation arises, and they both go before the king. The king has the wife summoned, ascertains the truth, and punishes the paramour with loss of all his property. Devadāsa cuts off the nose of his wife, and marries another.

In Kathās. 45. 277 ff. king Sūryaprabha, neglectful of being off with the old love before he is on with the new, angers two of his loves, Kalāvati and Mahallikā, so that they run away from him. He sends his minister Prabhāsa after Kalāvati who has fled to the under-world. Prabhāsa reports that he went to the private apartment of Kalāvati in the under-world, where he overheard the conversation of two maids. The one said: 'Why is Kalāvati distressed today?' The second said: 'There is at present in the under-world Sūryaprabha, who in beauty surpasses the god of love. She went secretly and gave herself to him. And when she had repaired to him to-day of her own accord at night-fall, Mahallikā chose to come there too. Our mistress (Kalāvati) had a jealous quarrel with her, and was in consequence preparing to slay herself, when she was seen by her sister Sukhāvati and saved.' The tangled sequel of the story does not concern our theme.

In Pārgvanātha Caritra 2. 839 ff. two sons of queen Madanavallabhā who have been separated from her as well as from their father, king Sundara, guard the camp of a certain merchant, in which their mother is employed as a menial. The boys converse about their past adventures, and are overheard by their mother who in this way recognizes them and embraces them. As the result the entire family is happily reunited.*

* Cf. S. Devi, *The Orient Pearls*, p. 18: A mother overhears her lost sons relating their adventures, recognises them, and is reunited with them.

In Jülg, *Kalmükische Märchen*, p. 31, the wife of the Khan Kun-snang, desires her son Moonshine to succeed to the throne of her stepson Sunshine. She feigns a pregnant woman's longing for Sunshine's heart. Moonshine overhears her conversation with the Khan. The two boys, devoted to one another, escape, experience notable adventures which land them in royalty, and, when they return in state, the wife of the Khan gets a fright at their sight, spits curdled blood, and dies.

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II.—NAMES OF STINGING, GNAWING, AND RENDING ANIMALS.

PART II.

Crickets, locusts, cicadas etc. are variously described: as 'a sharp point, peg, pin,' etc., in reference to the conical shape of the body; as 'devourers; gnawers,' from their destructiveness; as 'gnawers, crunchers, creakers,' in reference to the noise produced by their stridulating organs; and as 'hoppers, springers,' from their saltatory habits. This last group is here omitted. To these are added a few examples of boring insects named from the sound they produce.

104. Skt. *ḡalabhāḥ* 'locust': *ḡalāḥ* 'staff, sharp point, prickle.' Cf. No. 102.

105. Gr. *ἀκανθίας* 'a prickly thing; a kind of cicada; a kind of fish,' *ἀκανθα* 'thorn, prickle, thistle.'

106. Gr. *ἀκρίς* (-δ-) 'locust': *ἀκρίς*, *ἄκρα* 'point, end,' *ἄκρος* 'sharp.'

107. Gr. *κερκώνη* 'cicada': *κέρκος* 'tail; a little animal that injures the vine,' *κερκίς* 'staff, rod, peg, pin.'

108. Gr. *κόρνον* 'a kind of locust': Skt. *kṛndīti* 'wound,' Gr. *κείρω* 'cut.' Cf. No. 24.

109. Gr. *πάρων* · *ἀκρίδος εἶδος*: *περόνη* 'anything pointed for piercing or pinning.' Cf. No. 25.

110. OE. *hāma* 'cricket,' OHG. *heimo*, NHG. *heimchen*: Germ. **haiman-* 'sharp point,' with which compare OE. *hān*, ON. *hein* 'hone.' Cf. No. 30.

111. Goth. *þramstei* 'locust': base **terom-* 'point, end' in ON. *þromr* 'edge, brim,' NE. *thrum* 'the fringe of threads which remains attached to a loom when the web has been cut off,' MLG. *drom*, *drum* id., OHG., MHG. *drum* 'Endstück, Ende, Stück, Splitter,' Skt. *tārman-* 'Spitze des Opferpfostens,' Gr. *τέρμα* 'goal-post, end,' Lat. *termin*, *terminus*, root **tere-* in Skt. *tārati* 'setzt über, macht durch,' Av. *tar-* 'durchdringen,'

etc., or Lat. *tero* 'rub,' *terebra* 'borer,' Gr. *τορεῖν* 'bore through,' Skt. *trṇam* 'blade of grass, grass,' Goth. *þaurmus* 'thorn,' etc.

112. Lith. *skeris* 'Heuschrecke, locust,' Gr. *σκαρίς* 'a worm in the intestines; the larva of a marshbug' (this is no jumper!), OHG. *scero* 'mole': *sceran* 'cut; devour.'

113. Lith. *žiógis* (devourer) 'locust': *žiógauti* 'yawn,' *žióti* 'open the mouth,' Lat. *hiāre*.

114. Gr. *μάσταξ* 'mouth, beak; locust,' *μαστάζω* 'chew, eat.'

115. Lat. *cicāda* 'cicada': *cicātria* 'scar, wound,' *calamitas* (*cadamitas*) 'injury, damage, loss,' Gr. *κῆδω* 'injure, annoy, trouble,' Skt. *kadanam* 'destruction.'

116. Lat. *lōcusta*, *lūcusta* 'locust; a kind of lobster.' If the original form is *lōcusta*, we may compare *lacer* 'torn, mangled; rending, tearing,' *lacero*, 'tear to pieces, mangle; censure, rail at, slander,' Gr. *λακίς* 'rent, rending; tatter,' *λακίζω* 'tear, rend,' *ἀπέληκα* · *ἀπέρωγα* Hes., root **leq-*, **loq-*, **lq-*, also in OS., OHG. *lahan*, pret. *lōg*, *luog* 'tadeln, schelten, lacerare,' *laster* 'Schmach, Fehler, Laster,' OFris. *laster* 'Verletzung, Beschädigung,' etc.

116^a. Gr. *βροῦκος*, *βροῦχος*, Cret. *βρεῦκος*, *βρύκος* 'a kind of locust': *βρύκω* 'bite, devour,' *βρύχω* 'gnash the teeth,' OBulg. *grysti* 'bite, gnaw,' Serb. *grīsti* id.: *grizica* 'moth.' Cf. No. 70.

117. ChSl. *chrustū* *βροῦχος*, locusta, *chrušti* *κάνθαρος*, scarabaeus, Russ. *chruščū* 'Maikäfer,' *chruščakū* 'Mehlwurm': *chrústal* 'nagen, knabbern,' etc. Berneker Et. Wb. I, 403.

118. MLG. *krite* 'cricket': *kriten* 'schreien,' MHG. *krizen* 'scharf schreien,' etc.

119. MLG. *krikel*, *krekel* 'cricket,' Du. *kriek*, *krekel* id. (whence French *criquet*, NE. *cricket*): Du. *krieken* 'chirp,' NE. *creak*, MLG. *kriken* 'streicheln.'

120. Lith. *grėžė* 'ein Holzwurm, der hörbar im Holze bohrt; ein Schnarrvogel, Drossel'; *grėžiū* 'knirsche.'

121. Russ. *klopū* 'bedbug, cimex,' Serb.-Cr. dial. *klōp* 'tick, Ixodes ricinus,' Sloven. *klōp* id. If the name was applied primarily to a beetle called by popular superstition death-watch because of the ticking sound it produces, we may compare ChSl.

klopotati 'stridere, strepere,' Bulg. *klópa* 'klopfe, schlage,' *klopólŭ* 'bringe zum Weinen; intr. wimmeln (von Ungeziefer),' Sloven. *klopòt* 'Geklapper,' *klopótáti* 'klappern, plappern,' etc.

Shrews and moles may be described as sharp or pointed in reference to their pointed noses, or as gnawers, cutters. The mole is also described as an earth-thrower, mound-maker, or as a burrower. For NHG. *spitzmaus*, NE. *shrew-mouse*, OE. *scriawa*, *scierfemūs*, *hearma*, Lith. *kertūs* 'shrew-mouse' see IF. XVIII, 20 f.; for MHG. *molt-werf*, OHG. *scero* cf. Kluge s. v. *Maulwurf*.

122. Gr. *μωξός*, *μωξός* 'dormouse, hamster, mole' (Prellwitz), 'marmot' (Boisacq) was a term applied originally to a mouselike animal with a sharp nose. Compare *μῦς*, gen. *μύος* 'mouse' and *όξύς* 'sharp, keen, cutting,' *όξύς* 'beech; spear,' Lith. *akstis* 'spitziges Stöckchen' (cf. Prellwitz², 333), Skt. *ákṣuḥ* 'stake,' perhaps also in *tarákṣuḥ*, *tarakṣaḥ* 'hyena' (sharp-point, sharp-tooth).

123. Lett. *smizens* 'the black shrew; a piece of wood that will not burn': Lith. *smeigti* 'etwas möglichst Spitzes wohin-ein stechen,' *smaigas* 'Stange, Stock,' MLG. *smick* 'der vorderste Teil einer Peitsche,' MHG. *smicke* 'Geissel; Schmiss, Wunde,' *smecker* 'schlank, schmal, schwächig'; Gr. *σμηκρός*, *σμίλη*, etc. Cf. No. 147.

124. Gr. *σκάλοψ* 'mole' probably does not mean 'the digger, burrower' as explained by Prellwitz and Boisacq, but rather 'the sharp-pointed.' Compare *σκόλοψ* 'anything pointed, pale, stake,' *σκάλη* 'knife, sword,' *σκαλμός* 'pin or thole to which the oar was fastened,' *σκῶλος* 'a pointed stake, thorn, prickle.' Similarly OHG. *scero* 'mole' may mean 'cutting, sharp' in reference to its nose rather than 'cutter, digger.' Cf. No. 101.

125. Gr. *σπάλαξ*, *ἀσπάλαξ*, *σφάλαξ*, *ἀσφάλαξ* 'mole': *σφάλαξ* 'buckthorn' (*σφαλάσσειν* · *τέμνειν* . *κεντεῖν* Hes.), *ἀσπάλαθος* 'a prickly shrub': *ἀσκαλος* 'fish.'

126. Lith. *kūrmis*, Lett. *kūrmis* 'mole' (**q̃r̃mis*), OE. *hearma* 'shrew-mouse' (**qormon-*): OE. *hearm* 'grievous, cruel; injury, harm, loss,' *hearmian* 'harm, injure,' OHG., OS. *haram*, *harm*, Gr. *κορμός* 'trunk of a tree, log,' *κέρμα* 'morsel,

particle; small coin,' κεππαρίτζω 'mince into small pieces; coin into small money; change large coin for small,' Lett. *kurmāt* 'trödeln, nuscheln,' Gr. *κείρω* 'shear, cut,' Skt. *kr̥ṇāti* etc. (cf. No. 24), Lith. *kertù* 'haue scharf,' *kertùs*, *kertùkas* 'Spitzmaus.'

127. Russ.-ChSl. *kroto-ryja* 'mole,' Russ. *krotù*, LRuss. *krot*, *krut*, Bulg. *krüt*, etc. are compared with Lith. *krutùs* 'rührig,' *krutėti* 'sich rühren,' *ap-si-k* 'seine Arbeit tun,' *krūtulioti* 'sich ein wenig bewegen' (cf. Berneker I, 631). But these meanings give no satisfactory explanation for mole. Related words in Germ., however, indicate that the mole is here described as a 'thrower' (i. e. of earth, mold, exactly like OHG. *moltwurf*). Compare MHG. *rütten* (**hrudjan*) 'rütteln, zer-rütten,' *rütteln*, 'schütteln,' Norw. dial. *rjoda* 'spread out, throw out, strew, scatter,' ON. *hrióða* 'strip, disable; unload, clear away; belch forth,' *hroðe* 'refuse, offal,' OE. *hrypig* 'in ruins,' *hrēape-mūs* 'fluttermouse, bat' (cf. Mod. Phil. V, 277).

Or Slav. **krūtū* 'mole' as 'heaper': Lith. *krāuti* 'pile up,' *kruvà* 'pile, heap,' etc.

128. Lat. *talpa* 'mole' may mean primarily 'Häufner' (cf. Walde², 761 with lit.) or may better be referred to words there given with the primary meaning 'space, passage, burrow.' Compare especially Lett. *tīlpe* 'Kramkammer, Packwagen, storeroom,' *telpu*, *tīlpt*, Lith. *tīlpti* 'have room in,' Skt. *tālpa*, *tālpah*, *talpam* 'Lager, Bett, Ruhesitz': *talam* 'Fläche, Ebene, Handfläche, Fusssohle,' Lat. *tellus*, etc. These are better separated from OBulg. *tīlpa* 'turba,' Lett. *tulpitēs* 'sich häufen.'

129. Gr. *σφῆνός* (burrower) 'mole': *σίφων* 'an empty or hollow body, pipe, tube,' *σφῆνός·κενός*, Lat. *tibia* (Walde², 778; Boisacq 867).

Hares and rabbits are described as 'burrowers'; as 'docked, stub-tail'; as 'lean, lanky'; as 'lop-eared'; as 'ass-eared'; and as 'scrapers, cutters, peelers.' The only certain name taken from the color is Russ. *sěrjakū* 'gray hare': *sěryj* 'gray.' But this does not justify us in deriving a word for hare in general from a word for gray. Quite naturally the adjectives fleet, nimble may be applied to the hare. Hence such terms as Gr. *σκιναί* 'quick, nimble,' *subst.* 'hare.'

130. Lat. Iber. *cuniculus* 'underground passage: rabbit.' Cf. No. 153.

131. Lith. *triūszkis*, *trūszkis* 'Kaninchen, rabbit,' Lett. *trusche*, *trusis*, Pol. *trusia* id.: Lith. *triūszis*, *trūszis* 'Bohr, Schilfrohr, reed,' Lett. *truschi* 'Binsen, rushes,' base **trēuk-* 'press, bore': Lith. *triūszkinti* 'zermalmen, bes. von hohlen rohrartigen Dingen,' Lett. *trausls* 'zerbrechlich, spröde,' root **trēu-* in Gr. *τρώ* (press, rub) 'afflict, distress,' *τρύμα*, *τρύμη* 'hole,' *τρύμη* id., *τρύπανον* 'borer, auger,' *τρυνάω* 'bore, pierce through,' Lith. *trupūs* 'friable,' *trupù* 'crumble,' etc.

132. Russ. *kúcyj* 'docked, short-tailed; hare,' Pol. *kuc*, *kucyk* 'horse of small size; animal without tail,' etc. (Berneker I, 636).

133. NE. *bun*, *bunny* 'rabbit': NE. dial. *bun* 'a dry stalk; the dry stalk of hemp stripped of its rind; the tail of a hare,' Gael. *bun* 'stump, stock, root; a short, squat person or animal,' Manx *bun* 'a thick end, butt-end' (Cent. Dict.).

134. NE. *scut* 'a short tail, as that of a rabbit or deer,' dial. *scut* 'stubby tail of the hare; hare,' *scut* 'short, as a garment,' *scuttick* 'fragment, particle; coin of smallest value'; *scuddick* 'the lowest measure of value; a small coin; a fragment, particle,' *skiddick* id.; 'a puny, deformed person or animal,' *scuddy* 'naked, esp. of an infant or unfledged bird; scant, too small.'

135. Lett. *fak'is* 'hare,' **gogis* 'stub, stubtail': Norw. dial. *kage* 'low bush,' Swed. dial. *kage* 'stump,' MDu. *kegge*, Du. *keg*, *kegge* 'wedge,' NHG. dial. *kag* 'Kohlstengel, Stumpf,' OHG. *kegil* 'Pfahl, Pflock,' MHG. *kegel* 'Knüppel, Stock; Kegel; Eiszapfen,' OE. *cæg* 'key.' With these compare **gēg-*, *gōg-* in MLG. *kāk* 'stake, pillory,' MDu. *kāke*, Du. *kaak* id., Lith. *žāgaras* 'dry branch,' *žāgrė* 'plow,' Bulg. *žegla* 'wooden pin to bind two parts of a yoke' (cf. Franck², 283), Norw. dial. *kōk* 'clod of earth,' MLG. *kōke* 'cake,' OHG. *kuohho* 'Kuchen,' OE. *cēcel* 'little cake; morsel,' Swed., Icel. *kaka* 'cake,' NE. *cake*.

136. MDu. *robbe*, *robbeken* 'rabbit' (Kil.): Norw. *rubb* 'rope-end, stub, piece, end of anything,' *rubba* 'rub, scrub; scale (fish),' EFr. *rubben* id.; 'pull, tear,' NE. *rub*. Cf. No. 98.

137. Lat. *lepus* 'hare,' perhaps 'stub, stubtail, bobtail,' rather than 'the thin, lanky.' In either case related to Gr. λέπω 'peel, strip off,' λεπτός 'thin, fine, lean, small, weak,' Russ. *lepéní* 'Stückchen, Fetzen, Abschnitzel,' *lépestü* 'Lappen, Stück; Blumenblatt,' *lepestíl* 'zerstückeln; Blumenblätter abreißen,' Gr. λέπος 'rind, bark,' etc. Or *lepus* may mean 'the peeler.'

138. Gr. λειρός 'leveret': λειρός 'thin, pale.' Here certainly the description refers to the shape, not the color.

139. Cret. κεῆνας · λαγούς Hes., κεῆν (hollow-flank): κεός, κεεός 'empty, hollow,' κενεών 'the hollow of the flank.'

140. Hom. λαγώς, Ion. λαγός, Att. λαγός 'hare' is explained as having as its last element οὖς 'ear' (Prellwitz, Boisacq). In this case the word means 'lop-ear': λαγάρως 'slack, hollow, sunken; pliant,' λῆγω 'cease,' Germ. **laka*-, **slaka*-, **slōka*- 'slack,' etc., and would apply only to the lop-eared variety, which is comparatively rare. Otherwise the word might be descriptive of the thin body of the hare. This would better explain the use of the word as the name of a fish.

141. NPers. *xergōš* 'hare'; *xer* 'ass,' Skt. *kharaḥ* id. and NPers. *gōš* 'ear,' OPers. *gauša*-, Av. *gaoša*- id. (Horn 473). This is an appropriate description of the hare, whose ears are usually long and erect.

142. Lith. *kiszkis* 'hare': *kishti* 'stick in,' *kaishti* 'schaben,' OPruss. *coynis* 'comb,' to which may belong Skt. *kēṣaḥ* 'hair of the head.'

143. OE. *hara* 'hare,' ON. *here*, OHG. *haso* id. etc. Germ. **hasan*- *hazan*- may represent a pre-Germ. **qoson*- 'scraper, peeler': Lith. *kasĩti* 'scratch,' *kāsti* 'dig,' Lett. *kast* 'rake,' *kasit* 'scrape, scratch, rake,' OBulg. *česati* 'comb; strip, strip off (berries, fruit),' Russ. *česát* 'comb, scratch, heckle,' etc. Or compare *hare* with the following.

144. Skt. *ṣaṣāḥ* 'hare' for **ṣasaḥ*, OPruss. *sasnis* id. etc.: Skt. *ṣāsati* 'cut,' *ṣastrām* 'knife,' Lat. *castrare* 'cut, cut off.' Cf. No. 202.

The various rodent animals are naturally described as 'gnawers, cutters.' These terms are applied not only to the rodents proper but also to carnivorous animals. The beasts of prey and the fiercer animals, including sea-monsters in general, may be described as 'renders, tearers, raveners' or simply as 'wild, fierce,' though the two terms readily pass into each other or may be derived from quite different original ideas.

145. Skt. *mūḥ*, *mūṣaḥ* 'mouse, rat,' Gr. *μῦς*, Lat. *mūs*, OE. *mūs* etc.: Skt. *muṣṇāti*, *muṣati*, *mōṣati* 'rob, steal' (Uhlenbeck s. v.), ON. *má* (**mawēn*) 'abnutzen, abschaben.' Cf. No. 20.

146. OE. *rætt* 'rat,' OLG. *ratto*, *ratta* id., NHG. (oberd.) *ratz* 'rat; caterpillar,' Hess. *ratz* 'marten': Skt. *rādati* 'scrape, shave, scratch,' Lat. *rōdo*, *rādo* (cf. Walde², s. v.).

147. Gr. *σῆς*, *σῆνθος*, *σῆνθα* 'mouse'; *σμήν* 'rub,' *σμίλη* 'knife,' *σμύνη* 'mattock,' etc. So usually.

148. Ir. *luch* (**lukot-*) 'mouse,' Welsh *llyg* 'mus araneus': base **leuq-* in Skt. *lūncati* 'pull off, pluck, peel,' Russ. *lýko* 'the bast of linden or willow,' Lith. *lūnkas*, Lett. *lúks* 'bast'; or **leuk-*, compare **leug-* in Lith. *láužiù* 'break,' etc. Or the original form may be **plukot-*: Lett. *plūkt* 'pluck, pull off,' etc. Cf. No. 35.

149. LRuss. *lupéj*, *lupiž* 'Eichelmaus, dormouse': Serb. *lúpež* 'robber, thief,' Russ. *lupiř* 'peel off, shell,' etc. No. 27.

150. Russ. *krýsa* 'rat,' probably from **qrūsċ-*: LRuss. *krýcha* 'piece, fragment,' *krýšýty* 'zerstückeln, zermalmen,' *krúšyty* 'zerbrechen, zertrümmern,' OBulg. *sŭ-krušiti* 'συντρίβειν, θραύειν, κρούειν,' etc.

151. Lat. *fēlēs* 'cat, marten, polecat,' Welsh *bele* 'marten' (cf. Walde², 279 with lit.): root **bhele-* 'tear, strip off' in No. 198. Comparisons of this kind do not necessarily mean that the words in question date from IE. times, as Walde l. c. seems to think, but only that they were derived from the same IE. base, in many cases independently. The occurrence of *mēlēs* casts no shadow of spuriousness on either word. For the formation of rime-words from synonymous bases is the usual procedure in language.

152. Lat. *mēlēs* 'marten (or badger)': Ir. *míl* 'beast, animal,' used of the 'louse': *míl etaig* 'hare': *míl maige* 'whale': *míl mora*, Welsh *míl* 'bestia, animal irrationale,' *milgi* (**mēlo-kūō*) 'canis venaticus,' from the root **mēi-* 'cut, tear off, mow, reap,' perhaps identical with **mēi-* 'diminish, injure, mutilate.' Compare OHG. *māen* 'mow, reap,' OE. *māwan* 'mow,' etc.: and Skt. *mināti* 'schädigt, mindert': OWelsh *mail* 'mutilum,' Welsh *moel* 'calvus, glaber,' Ir. *mael* 'kahl, stumpf, ohne Hörner' (Fick II⁴, 204), MHG. *meilen* 'verletzen, verwunden; beflecken,' OHG. *moil* 'Fleck'; Skt. *mitaḥ* 'gemindert, geschädigt,' Gr. *μίτλος* 'maimed, hornless,' ON. *meiða* 'verletzen, beschädigen, verstümmeln,' Goth. *ga-maiþs* 'bruised, maimed'; Goth. *maitan* 'hauen, schneiden'; ON. *meinn* 'schädlich,' *mein* 'Schade, Beschädigung, Unglück' (cf. MLN. 21, 40).

153. Russ.-ChSl. *kuna* αἰλουρος, Russ. *kuná* 'marten,' Serb.-Cr. *kúna* 'marten, marten skin'; (early) 'fox,' Slov. *kuna* 'marten, marten skin,' *kūnac* 'rabbit,' Slovinz. *kūnd* 'she-dog,' Lith. *kiúne* 'marten,' Lett. *záuna*, -e, OPruss. *caune* id. (Berneker, I, 644): Lat. *cuniculus* 'rabbit; burrow': Skt. *akḥūḥ* 'mouse, rat, mole,' root **qheua-* 'scratch, dig, burrow,' perhaps in Skt. *khánati* 'dig,' *khám* 'hole,' from **qhuā-*.

154. Gr. *κρίς*, *ικρίς* 'marten, weasel,' base **qpid-* 'scratcher, cutter' from the root **qpe-* in Gr. *κρίς* 'comb; rake, harrow; finger; cutting-tooth, incisor; cockle, scallop,' *κτηδών* 'comb, trident; fiber in wood or in the body, vein in rocks,' *εὐκτρίανος* 'splitting easily,' *κτείνω*, *κτείνω* 'kill, slay,' Skt. *kṣanōti* 'break, harm, hurt,' *kṣatāḥ* 'wounded, broken, hurt,' *kṣatīḥ* 'injury, harm,' Av. *a-xšata-* 'unharméd.'

155. ON. *gaupa* 'lynx': OE. *gēap* 'wide, spacious' (yawning), *gēopan* 'swallow' (hiare), Norw. *gop* 'chasm, abyss,' base **ǵhēu-* 'hiare, yawn, open; devour greedily' in OHG. *giwēn*, *gewōn* 'das Maul aufsperrén, gähnen,' *giumo*, *goumo* 'Gaumen,' ON. *gymer* 'Schlund, Meer,' MHG. *giemolf* (**gism-wolf*) 'den Rachen aufsperrender Wolf,' *giel* 'Maul, Rachen, Schlund, throat, jaws,' MDu. *gole* 'open mouth or jaws,' Gr. *χάος* 'open space, gulf, chasm,' etc., Russ. *zévū* 'Maul, Rachen.'

156. Lith. *žvėris* 'ravenous animal, beast of prey,' Lett. *fwērs*, OBulg., Russ. *zvěř* id.: **ǵhuēris* 'devourer,' with which compare Lith. *žiūrke* 'rat,' root **ǵhēu-* 'hiare' in the above. For Gr. *θήρ* cf. No. 170.

157. Swed. *glupande* 'a ravenous wolf': Dan. *glubende* 'ravenous, raging,' Swed. dial. *glūpa* 'swallow, devour,' Norw. dial. *glūpa* 'yawn, gape; snap at, swallow.'

158. Gr. *λύγξ* 'lynx,' Lith. *lūszis*, OHG. *luhs* id., base **leuk-* 'tear, rage': Gr. *λύσσα* 'rage, fury,' *λυσσᾶν* 'rage, rave, of wolves,' Theoc. 4, 11, *λευκαὶ φρένες μαινόμεναι* Hes., Lat. *luxor* 'riot, revel,' *luxus* 'reveling, debauchery, excess.'

159. Lith. *liūtas* 'lion' from Russ. *lutyj zvěř* 'wildes, reisendes Tier,' *lutyj* 'grausam, grimmig, streng; hastig, feurig,' OBulg. *lutū χαλεπός, πονηρός, lutiti se χαλεπαίνειν*, saevire (cf. Berneker Et. Wb. I, 759).

160. Skt. *lōpācāḥ*, *lōpākāḥ* 'jackal, fox,' Av. *raopiš* id., *uru-piš* 'a kind of dog': Skt. *lōlupāḥ* 'greedy,' *lumpāti* 'break,' *lōpayati* 'injure,' Lith. *ap-laupyti* 'rob,' *lūpti* 'peel off,' etc. (cf. Fick I⁴, 304).

161. Lat. *vulpēs*, *vulpēs* 'fox,' Lith. *vilpizys* 'wildcat'; Skt. *vṛkḥ* 'wolf,' Gr. *λύκος*, OBulg. *vlūkū* id., etc.; Lat. *vultur* 'vulture': root *uel-* 'tear off, rob' in Lat. *vellere* 'pull off, pluck,' Goth. *wilwan* 'rob' (cf. Solmsen KZ. 32, 279 ff.).

162. Lith. *lāpė* 'fox,' OPruss. *lape*, Lett. *lapsa* id.; Gr. *ἀλώπηξ* 'fox': Russ. *lōpa* 'Fresser; Schwätzer,' *lopal* 'platzen; fressen,' Bulg. *lōpam* 'verschlinge, fresse, devour'; Russ. *lāpīl* 'take, grasp,' Czech *lapati* 'seize,' *lapiti* 'catch,' *lapač*, *lapak* 'robber,' Gr. *λωπίζω* 'strip': *λέπω* 'peel,' etc.

163. OBulg., Russ. *liš* 'fox,' Sloven. *lis*, *lisica* id., Pol. *lis* 'fox,' *lisica* 'she-fox,' *liszka* 'fox, she-fox,' root **leiḱ-*: Skt. *liçāti* 'pluck, pull off,' to which according to Pedersen IF. V, 79, belong OBulg., Russ. *listū* 'leaf,' Lith. *laišzkas* 'leaf of a tree, of paper,' etc.

164. Lett. *lāzis* 'bear,' Lith. *lokys* id.: Lith. *lakus* 'gefrässig, greedy,' *lākti* 'lap up, eat, of cats and dogs,' Lett. *lakt* id., Czech dial. *lákati* 'in sich schlingen, schlucken, schlecken,' ChSl. *lokati* *λάπτειν* lambere, etc. Here the bear was probably

thought of as a honey-eater as in ChSl. *mědvěda* 'bear,' lit. 'honey-eater.'

165. Ir. *fael*, *fael-chu* 'wolf,' Welsh *gweil-gi* 'sea' (Fick II, 259) imply an IE. base **uoilo-* 'wild, fierce,' which may be compared with Welsh *gwyllt* 'ferus, indomitus, sylvestris, agrestis,' Goth. *wilpeis* 'wild,' ON. *villr* 'wild; bewildered,' OE. *wilde* 'wild, untamed, uncultivated, desert,' *wilder* 'wild beast,' OHG. *wild*, pl. *wildir* id., *wildi* 'wild,' etc. The word *wild* now as in older times may be applied to a storm or the sea as well as to men and animals. Compare OFris. *thet wilde hef* 'the wild sea.'

166. ON. *vargr* 'wolf,' Nicel. *vargr* 'wolf; beast of prey; ill-tempered person, termagant, vixen,' *vargynja* 'she-wolf,' OE. *wiergen* id., *wearg* 'outlaw, felon,' *weargincel* 'butcher-bird,' OS. *warag* 'Frevler, criminal,' OHG. *warg* id., *wergen* 'condemn, curse,' Goth. *gawargjan* id., OS. *waragean* 'martern, quälen,' OE. *wiergan* 'curse, revile': *wyrgan* 'strangle,' NE. *worry* 'bite at or tear with the teeth, as dogs when fighting; tease, trouble,' OHG. *wurgen*, MHG., NHG. *würgen*, etc. (cf. Weigand s. v.), with which compare Lat. *urgeo* 'push, shove, press,' OBulg. *vragŭ* 'foe,' Lith. *vařgas* 'distress,' *vařgti* 'suffer distress or need,' root **uergh-*.

167. Phryg. *δαός* . . . ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λύκος Hes.: Av. *dav-* 'drängen, bedrängen,' OBulg. *daviti* 'sticken, würgen,' Russ. *davít* 'drücken, pressen, würgen, zerquetschen,' LRuss. *davítty* 'drücken, pressen, klemmen,' Lith. *dōvyti* 'zu starker, fortgesetzter Bewegung antreiben,' *refl.* 'herumrasen, toben' (cf. Berneker I, 181 f.): Skt. *dhūnōti* 'shake, set in motion,' Gr. *θῶω*, Lesb. *θυῶω* 'rage,' *θύνω* 'rush fast and furiously,' *θύνος* 'onrush, Andrang,' Slov. *dúiniti* 'stossen.'

168. Gr. *θῶς* 'a beast of prey of the wolf kind, jackal': *θῶσθαι* 'feed, feast,' *θόινη* 'feast, meal,' *θουῶν* 'feast on, eat' (Boisacq 347, 361). Probably from a base **dhuō-i-* 'press, cram, stuff, eat greedily': Russ. *davít* 'drücken, würgen,' Phryg. *δαός* 'wolf.'

169. Goth. *dīus* 'wild animal,' ON. *dýr*, OE. *dēor*, OS. *dior*, OHG. *tior*: OE. *dēor* 'fierce; severe; brave, bold,' OHG. *tīorlīh* 'ferox,' pre-Germ. **dheuso-* 'raging, fierce, wild,' with which

compare Gr. *θύα* 'Bacchante,' *θυάς* id., adj. 'raving, frantic,' *θύω* 'subare, rut,' *θυοράδες* · *βάκχαι*, MLG. *dūsich* 'betäubt, schwindelig,' *dusen* 'schlendern, bummeln,' *dwāsen* 'Unsinn reden, delirare,' *dwās* 'töricht; Tor,' etc.: Gr. *θύω* 'rush, rage,' *θείω* 'run,' etc., whence many other bases with similar meanings. Compare especially MHG. *toben* 'bacchari, delirare, furere,' *tobunder hunt* 'mad dog,' *tober hunt* id., *tobic als ein wilder ber* 'furious as a wild bear.'

The reference of Germ. *deuza-* 'wild animal' to the root **dheues-* in the sense of 'breathe' is nonsense. Even the often quoted Lat. *animal* is not 'the breathing being,' but 'the living, active being.'

170. Gr. *θήρ*, Lesb. *φήρ*, Thess. *φείρ* 'wild animal, esp. a beast of prey; sphinx, centaur, satyr; any beast,' *θηρίον* 'wild beast, animal,' *θήρα* 'the chase, eager pursuit,' *θηράω* 'hunt, chase, pursue; catch, take' (IE. **dhuēr-*), Lat. *ferus*, *fera* 'a wild beast; lion, goat, serpent, sea-monster': *ferus* 'wild, savage, cruel' (IE. **dhueros*), Gr. *θοῦρος* *(*dhuoruros*) 'leaping, rushing, raging, impetuous,' *θορπάω* 'rush or leap upon,' Av. *dvaraitē* 'läuft, stürzt,' Serb. *dūrīti se* 'aufbrausen,' Slov. *dūr* 'scheu, wild,' Russ. *durī* 'Torheit,' *durnój* 'schlecht, übel,' dial. 'unvernünftig, wütend,' Lith. *pa-durmai* 'mit Ungestüm, stürmisch,' etc. (cf. Berneker I, 239): MHG. *turm* 'Wirbel, Taumel, Schwindel,' *türmen* 'schwindeln, taumeln,' *türmic* 'tobend, ungestüm,' and perhaps also *töre* 'Tor,' *tören* 'toll sein, rasen,' Lat. *furo*, *furor* (cf. Mod. Phil. XI, 332).

171. OE. *dogga* 'dog,' Lith. *dūkti* 'rasend werden, rasen,' *dūkimas* 'das Rasen, Toben,' *dūkinėti* 'umherrasen,' *dūkà* 'ein Dummer oder Rasender,' *dūkis* 'Tollheit, Raserei,' Lett. *dūkt* 'brausen, tosen,' Skt. *dhūkāḥ* 'wind,' Lith. *dvėktis*, *dvėkauti* etc. 'atmen, keuchen,' *dvōkti* 'stinken,' *dvākas* 'Hauch, Atem,' with which compare Lat. *focus* (**dhuoqos*) 'fire-place, hearth' (cf. IE. *a*⁹ 74 f.; Persson Beitr. 653*). Compare the base **dheug-* in early Dan. *dyge* 'laufen, sich beeilen,' Swed. dial. *dyka* 'sich heftig bewegen, stürmen, stürzen,' *dukå* 'poltern, tosen,' ON. *dykr* 'Gepolter,' etc.

172. ON. Nicel. *grey* 'dog; bitch,' Germ. **grauja-* 'scratcher, snapper': Germ. **grēwa-* 'scratching, rubbing; scratched:

streaked, gray; irritable, snappish,' ON. *grár* 'gray; hateful, malicious,' *gráligr* 'malicious, rude,' Swed. *grå* 'grau; verdriesslich, ärgerlich'; OHG. *griuna* 'Grausamkeit, Heftigkeit, Bögierde,' NHG. Swiss *grün* 'finster, mürrisch, zornig, rauh (Wetter),' Gr. *χρᾶω* 'scratch, graze; hurt, harass,' ON. *greyp* 'fierce, cruel,' etc.

173. Gr. (σ)καφόρη 'she-fox,' perhaps from *σκαφο-φώρα: σκάφος 'a digging: trench, ditch,' σκάπτω 'dig,' and φῶρ 'thief.'

174. Lat. *bellua* 'beast, distinguished for size or ferocity, as an elephant, lion, wild boar, whale, etc.,' *bēstia* 'beast, wild animal,' **duēs-* (not **dhuēs-*) base **deues-* 'pull, tear' in ME. *tō-tūsen* 'touse,' NE. *touse* 'tear or pull apart; tease, comb; worry, plague; handle roughly; *intr.* bustle, exert oneself vigorously, struggle,' *touser*, *towser* 'one who or that which touses (often used as a name of a dog), *tousy* 'rough, shaggy, unkempt, tousled,' *tousle* 'pull about roughly; put into disorder, dishevel,' *tussle* 'struggle, scuffle,' Icel. *tosa* 'pull, drag,' MHG. *zer-zūsen* 'zerzausen,' *zūse* 'Gestrüpp, Haarlocke,' EFris. *tūsen* 'zausen, reissen, zupfen, rupfen, beschädigen; rauh sein, stürmen,' *tūsig* 'zerzaust, zerrissen, wirr, wild, stürmisch,' *tūse(l)* 'wirrer Knäuel, wirr u. rauh aussehender Büschel, Zotte,' Skt. *dūsyati* 'verdirbt, wird schlecht,' *duśāyati* 'verdirbt, versehrt, schändet, beschimpft,' Lat. *dūrus* (**dūsos*) 'rough, harsh, hard, rude, uncultivated; severe, toilsome; hardy, vigorous,' *dūmus* 'thorn-bush, bramble.'

175. OHG. *zōha* 'Hündin, she-dog,' MLG. *tō* id., Icel. *tóa* 'she-fox': Goth. *tiuhan* 'ziehen,' OHG. *zogōn* 'ziehen, reissen, zerren.' Not from *tuh-* 'erzeugen' (Fick III⁴, 151) nor "die, welche ziehen macht" (Schade 1293), but 'touser, snapper.'

176. MHG. *zūpe* 'she-dog'; Norw. dial. *tobba* 'Stute, überhaupt kleines (zerzaustes) weibliches Wesen': MDu. *toven* 'zupfen,' MLG. *tobben* 'zupfen, zwacken, zerren,' NHG. *zupfen* 'pull, pluck, tug.'

177. Icel. *tófa*, *tófa* 'she-fox': MDu. *tōven*, *toeven* 'hold back, hold, detain, entertain; delay, tarry,' ON. *tefja*, *teppa* 'hinder,' MLG. *tapen*, *tappen* 'zupfen, reissen,' OFris. *tappa* id., Gr. *δάπτω* 'tear, rend, devour, feed on, as wild beasts,' *δάπτω* 'eater, gnawer; pl. blood-sucking insects.'

178. OE. *tife* 'bitch,' MDu., MLG. *teve*, Du. *teef* id., Germ. **tib-*, *tipp-* 'pull, pluck, tease': OE. *tiber* 'sacrifice, offering,' *tibernes* 'slaughter, destruction,' NE. *tip*, MHG. *zipf* 'Zipfel, Spitze'; Gr. *δείπνον* 'meal,' *δαίς*, *δαίτη* 'portion, meal,' *δαίωμα* 'share,' Skt. *dāyatē* 'zerteilt, hat Anteil,' *dṛyāti* 'schneidet ab, teilt.' To the same root belong the following.

179. Dan. *tispe*, Swed. dial. *tispa* 'Hündin, Füchsin (touser, teaser), Norw. dial. *tispa* 'little girl' (toddler): MHG. *zispen* 'schleifend gehn, shuffle,' OHG. *ar-zispit* 'extrusit, expulit,' *zeisan* 'zupfen, zausen,' MLG. *tēsen* 'zupfen, kratzen, pflücken,' OE. *tāsan* 'pull to pieces, tease; wound,' etc.

180. ON. *tik* 'bitch,' Norw. *tik* id.; 'she-fox,' ME., NE. *tike* 'a cur-dog; a low, snarling fellow,' MLG. *tike* 'bitch': ME. *tikken*, NE. *tick* 'touch or tap lightly, or with a small sharp sound, pick, peck, click,' Du. LGerm. *tikken* id., MHG. *zicken* 'stossen, necken, zecken,' OHG. *zechōn* 'pulsare, zecken, necken,' NHG. dial. *zicklen* 'aufreizen,' NE. *tickle*: *tick*, dial. *tike* 'one of many kinds of mites or acarines which are external parasites of various animals,' ME. *tike*, *teke*, OE. *ticia* 'tick,' EFris. *tike*, MLG., MDu. *teke*, MHG., NHG. *zecke*.

181. OE. *bicce*, *bicge* 'bitch,' NE. *bitch* 'female of the dog, wolf or fox,' Icel. *bikkja* 'bitch,' Norw. *bikkja* 'bitch, dog,' early Dan. *bikke* 'she-dog': OE. *becca* 'pickax, mattock,' MHG. *bicke*, *bichel* id., *bicken*, *becken* 'stechen, hacken, hauen,' OHG. *bicchan* 'angreifen, wonach stechen,' MLG. *bicken* 'pick, peck,' EFris. *bikken* 'picken, essen, beissen, spalten, hacken, schlagen, hauen, stossen, stechen,' *bikkern* 'hacken, nagen, naschen,' NE. *bicker* 'exchange blows, skirmish; quarrel, wrangle,' ME. *bik-keren*, *bekeren*.

182. Gr. *κνώδαλον* 'any wild dangerous animal, of bird, beast, and reptile, even of a gnat': *κνώδων* 'tooth on the blade of a hunting spear; sword,' *κνώδαξ* 'peg, pin,' *κναδάλλεται· κνήβεται*.

183. Gr. *κνώψ* 'a deadly animal,' *κνωπεύς· ἄρκτος*: ON. *hnōf* 'schnitt ab,' OE. *hnæppan* 'strike,' Lett. *knābt* 'picken, zupfen,' Lith. *knabu* 'schäle ab,' *knėbiū* 'kneife,' Gr. *κνάπτω* 'scratch, scrape; comb, card; mangle, tear,' bases **gnēp-*, *gnē-bh-*, *knēn* etc.

184. Gr. κινώπετον, κινωπηστής 'a deadly beast, esp. a serpent' are evidently formed from a *κίνωψ after the analogy of έρπετόν, έρπηστής reptile. With *κίνωψ, *κίνη-ογ#- 'sharp-mouth,' compare No. 30.

185. Sicil. κίνοδος 'fox, also of a wily person; monster, beast,' from *κίνη- as above.

186. Goth. *fauhō* δλώπηξ, 'fox,' ON. *fóa*, OHG. *foha* id.; *fuhs*, OS. *fohs*, OE. *fox* 'fox.' Because of ON. *fox* 'fraud' I formerly compared *fox* with Gr. πυκνός 'close, secret, concealed, wise, shrewd, crafty,' and still think this a better connection than that with Skt. *púccha-h* 'Schwanz, Schweif.' But in view of the large number of other words for fox that are related to words meaning tear, pluck, touse, etc., it is better to refer these words to the root **peuk-* 'thrust, stick, pierce, be sharp': Gr. πευκεδανός 'sharp, fierce (of war),' πευκάλιμος 'sharp, keen' (φρένες), πύκη 'fir,' etc. Perhaps here may belong NPers. *pušek*, *pōšek*, 'cat.'

187. Gr. κίδαφος, -άφη, κινδάφη, -άφιος, σκινδάφη, σκινδάφος 'fox,' all have the suffix -*hō-* so common in animal names. It is therefore probable that κίδαφος·δόλιος Hes. properly means 'foxy,' and κίδαφεύειν·πανουργείν H. 'act like a fox.' I refer these to the root **sgeid-* 'rend asunder, tear, separate' in Gr. (σ)κίδναμαι 'be separated, scattered,' σκινδάλαμος 'splinter,' Lat. *scindo* 'cut, tear, rend, break asunder; split, divide, separate,' Lith. *skėdžiù* 'trenne, scheide,' *skėdyti* 'von einander gehen, bersten,' etc. In the above words for fox the underlying idea is therefore 'tear away, snatch.' But since the idea of injury is so closely associated with that of fraud, deceit, both ideas may have been in κίδαφος etc.

188. Lac. κίραφος·δλώπηξ Hes.: root *(s)*geir-* 'cut, tear, separate' in OE. *scīr* (division, part) 'district, shire, diocese, parish,' *scīran* 'distinguish, decide; make clear, declare; get rid of,' *scīr* 'distinct, clear; pure; bright, brilliant,' Goth. *skeirs* 'distinct, clear,' etc., OHG. *scēri* 'sagax, acer ad investigandum' (Class. Phil. III, 76). Or κίραφος, with *ι* for *ε* from κίδαφος, from (s)*ger-* in Gr. κείρω 'shear, cut; devour, esp. of beasts,' etc.

189. Gr. κερῶ 'fox; weasel,' κερδαλή 'fox': κέρδος 'gain, profit, advantage; cunning, craft,' κερδαίνω 'acquire, reap (good or evil); gain, derive profit from; get, reap (loss),' κερδίων 'more profitable,' κερδαλέος 'gainful, profitable; making gain, cunning, crafty,' Ir. *cerd* 'handicraft, trade,' *cerd* 'aerarius, figulus, poeta,' Welsh *cerdd* 'musica' (cf. Boisacq 440 with lit.).

Here if anywhere it might be assumed that the fox was named from its cunning. But even here that meaning seems to be secondary. For we may refer this group to the base *(s)*qered-* 'cut off, pluck, reap, gain; be gainful, crafty; cut, shape, devise': Lith. *skerdžiù* 'steche, schlachte,' Lett. *schkērst* 'spalten, aufschneiden,' MHG. *scherze* 'abgeschnittenes Stück,' etc., root *(s)*qer-*. Compare **qerep-* in Lith. *kerpù*, *kiřpti* 'cut, shear,' Lat. *carpo* 'pluck, gather; eat, devour; enjoy, use; detract, slander,' Gr. καρπός (anything gathered or got) 'fruit, grain; children; profit, gain,' καρπώ 'bear fruit; mid. reap the fruits of, enjoy.'

190. Gr. Κέρβερος 'Cerberus' may be a derivative of **qereb-* 'cut, pluck, tear': MIr. *cerbaim* 'cut,' OE. *scearp* 'sharp: pungent, acrid; sharp of speech,' *sceorpan* 'scrape, cause irritation,' *screpan* 'scrape,' Gr. σκέρβολος· λοίδορος, σκερβολεί· ἀπατᾶ, κερβολοῦσα· λοιδοδοῦσα, ἀπατῶσα Hes. (carpens, vellicans, detrahens, decipiens).

191. Skt. *çvā*, gen. *çūnaḥ* 'dog,' Av. *spā*, Lith. *szū*, Gr. κύων, Lat. *canis*, Goth. *hunds*, etc., base **kudn-*, **kūn-* 'sharp, fierce.' That this is the primary meaning is seen from the use of the word. E. g. Gr. κύων is used of a bold, furious warrior; of a sea-fish, ξιφίας κ., of the dog-star, σείριος (the rager, scorcher); of a kind of nail or stud. This underlying adjective is also in κύντερος 'more audacious, bolder, more dreadful,' κύνῃ ('pointed, peaked,' not 'a dog's skin') 'cap, bonnet of leather or bronze,' Lat. *cuneus* 'wedge.' Compare also **kēue-*, *kū-*, *kū-* in the following: Skt. *çūka-h*, -m 'Granne am Getreide; Insektenstachel,' *çuktāḥ* 'acidus, versauert; barsch, roh,' Av. *sūka-* 'needle' (with the same addition as in Med. σπάκα 'dog,' Russ. *sūka* 'bitch'); Skt. *çūla-h*, -m, *çūlā* 'spear, javelin, spit, a pointed stake on which criminals were spitted; sharp pain, colic,' etc. Cf. No. 29.

192. Gr. ἄρκτος, Lat. *ursus*, Skt. *ṛkṣaḥ* 'bear': *rākṣaḥ* 'Beschädigung,' *rakṣāḥ* 'Beschädiger, nächtlicher Unhold,' Av. *rašō* 'a wounding,' etc. (Uhlenbeck Ai. Wb. 242) root **arek-* in the following.

193. Gr. ἄρκος 'bear,' Pers. *χirs* id., **r̥kō-* (cf. Boisacq 78 f. with lit.), Lat. *Orcus* (Destroyer), OHG. *birahanen* 'rauben, erbeuten,' ON. *rdēna* (**rahnian*) 'rob, plunder, pillage,' *rán* 'robbery; plunder,' *regan* (*δαίμονες*) 'gods, gods of fate,' Germ. **ragina-* 'violent, powerful, rapacious,' whence also the OHG. proper name *Ragino*, *Regino*, and in many compounds: Icel. *regin-djúp* 'the great deep, sea,' *-haf* 'the main sea, open sea,' OE. *regen-pēof* 'arch-thief,' *-weard* 'mighty guardian,' *-heard* 'mighty hard,' OS. *regin-thiof* 'thief,' *-scatho* 'robber,' *regin-* (or *regino* gen. pl.) *giskapu* 'fate, decrees of the gods,' MLG. *reineke* (little robber) 'reynard,' MHG. *reinhart*. Compare also Gr. ἐρέθω (**erek-phō* or *-dhō*) 'rend, break; dash, drive.'

194. OE. *bera* 'bear,' OHG. *bero* id., ON. *bera*, *birna* 'ursa,' *biørn* 'ursus,' etc. are better separated from Lith. *bėras*, Lett. *bērs* 'brown' (in spite of *brown* : *bruin*) and referred to the root **bher-* in Lat. *ferire*, *fordare*, Gr. φάρω 'cleave, cut, sever,' OBulg. *borjq* 'fight,' ON. *beria* 'strike, beat, refl. fight.'

195. Gr. λάβραξ 'sea-wolf, a ravenous sea-fish': λάβρος 'furious, boisterous; gluttonous, greedy,' λαβράζω 'talk boldly,' λάβη 'ill treatment, outrage, insult,' λωβάομαι 'illtreat, insult.'

196. Gr. σκύλιον 'dogfish,' σκύλαξ 'whelp, young dog' (tike, touser), Lat. *squalus* 'a sea-monster': Gr. σκύλλω 'rend, mangle; pluck out the hair,' σκύλα 'arms stript from a slain enemy, spoils,' σκύλος, σκύλον 'an animal's skin.'

197. Gr. σκύμνος 'a whelp, esp. of a lion; a sea-monster,' **squubnos*: OBulg. *skubati* 'vellere,' Pol. *skubać* 'zupfen, rupfen,' Goth. *skuft* 'hair of the head,' Gr. σκύβαλος 'offscouring, refuse, filth.'

198. Gr. φάλλη 'whale,' φάλλαυα 'any devouring monster, esp. a whale,' whence Lat. *ballaena* 'whale' (with *b* from *bellua*, *bēstia*), root **bhele-* 'tear, strip off': Gr. φολίς 'scale; spot, fleck,' φλοιός 'rind, peel, bark, husk,' φελλός 'cork, cork-tree,' Lat. *folium*, etc. Cf. No. 151.

199. Ir. *bled* 'whale, stag, wolf,' *bledach* 'belluosus,' Welsh *bled* 'wolf': Gr. *φλαδεῖν* 'be rent, burst,' Lat. *flocus* 'a lock or flock of wool, small particle' (**bhloodkos* W. Meyer KZ. 28, 172), Lith. *beldėti* 'knock, pound.'

200. Lat. *fiber*, *feber* 'beaver,' Corn. *befer*, OHG. *bībar*, OE *beofor*, Lith. *bebrūs* indicate an IE. stem **bhebhru-*, *bhibhru-*, changing in some languages to a different stem, as: Av. *bawra-*, *bawri*, Lat. *fibro-*, etc. In Balto-Slavic occurs a variety of forms: Lith. *bebrūs*, *bēbrus*, *dābras*, *dēbras*; Serb.-Cr. *dābar*, early *bobr*; Russ. *bobrū*, adj. (early) *bebr'anū*. These are all supposed to have come from a common form, identical with Skt. *babhrūḥ* 'reddish brown; a kind of ichneumon.' For the Balto-Slavic we may assume two different stems: **bhebhru-* (*bhibhru*) and **dhabhro-*. These were crossed, giving Lith. *bēbrus* from *bebrūs* and *dēbras* from *dābras*; Serb.-Cr. *dābar* for **dōbar*, and *bobr* for **bībrū*, etc.

It is possible, of course, that the beaver may have been named from his color. But his most striking characteristic is his habit of cutting down trees and building an abode such as might well have aroused the envy of the one who first gave him the name **bhebhrus*, which I take to have meant 'cutter, shaper, builder.' The root **bhere-*, *bherēi-* 'strike, cut, form' occurs in Lat. *forāre*, *ferire*, *forma*, MHG. *bern* 'schlagen, klopfen, knetend formen,' and just that the beaver does; and **bheruo-*, **bhreu-* 'press, gnaw, cut' in Skt. *bhārvati* 'gnaw, chew,' ON. *brióta* 'break, break off, down; fold,' OE. *brýsan* 'bruise,' Lith. *brūžyti* 'drücken,' *braukti* 'drückend streichen, scharren,' MHG. *brücken* 'biegen, formen, bilden,' *brouwen* 'biegen, drehen,' etc.

Accordingly IE. **bhibhru-*, *bhebhru-* meant 'cutting, sharp.' In most of the languages this gave, as explained above, a name for the beaver. From the same primary meaning may also come NPers. *beber* 'a wild catlike but tailless animal whose hide was used' (Horn 181), which is probably identical with NPers. *bebr* 'tiger,' Pehl. *bapr* id. (: Pehl. *baprak*, Av. *bawri* 'beaver'). The cat and tiger were naturally named from their sharp claws and teeth, as in Gr. *τίγρις* 'tiger' from Av. *tiyri-* 'arrow,' *tiyra-* 'sharp, pointed.'

In Sanskrit **bhebhru-* 'sharp' became *babhrūḥ* 'reddish brown; ichneumon.' This is a natural and common change in

meaning. Compare the following: Skt. *kaṣati* 'rub, scrape, scratch,' *kaṣāyah* 'sharp, bitter; red; redness, passion,' *kāṣāyaḥ* 'brownish red' (for other related words see Color-Names 61). Skt. *piṣāti* 'cut out; shape, form, adorn,' Gr. *πικρός* 'sharp, keen, pointed,' Skt. *piṣāṅgaḥ* 'reddish, reddish brown'; Lat. *pingo* 'stitch with the needle; paint,' Skt. *piṅgaḥ*, *piṅgalāḥ* 'reddish brown,' Gr. *πίγγαλος* 'lizard' (cf. Walde², 583 f.). Gr. *ὀξύς* 'pointed, sharp, keen; dazzling, bright.' Similarly many others. Why then derive every IE. word of the form **bherx-*, *bhriz*, *bhrux-* 'bright, brown' from an IE. base of the same meaning?

201. Lith. *dābras* 'beaver' is identical with Lat. *faber* 'a worker in wood, stone, metal; carpenter, smith, artificer,' *adj.* 'skilful, ingenious,' OBulg. *dobrŭ* *ἀγαθός, καλός*, Russ. *dobrŭ* 'tüchtig, gut, brauchbar,' OBulg. *po-doba* 'ornament,' *po-dōbŭti* 'make fitting, like,' *dob'ŭ* *ἀριστος; δόκιμος*, with which compare Lat. *Fabius*, Goth. *gadaban* *συμβαίνειν*, OE. *gedafen* 'suitable, fitting,' *gedæftan* 'make smooth; put in order, arrange.' The root **dhab(h)-* probably meant 'strike, stroke, prepare by beating or cutting.' Hence we may compare ON. *dafla* 'platschen, dab, dabble,' Norw. *dabbe*, ME. *dabben* id., OHG. *piteppan*, MHG. *biteben* 'über etwas fahren, drücken,' EFr. *daven* 'klopfen, pochen, stossen, stampfen,' *dafern* 'klopfen, hämmern, beat, hammer,' Gr. *τάφος* 'ditch, trench.' But *τάφος* 'funeral rites, funeral feast,' later 'burial, grave,' *θάπτω* 'pay the last dues to a corpse' are not derivable from the meaning 'dig' as is evident from such expressions as *πυρὶ θάπτειν*, *θ. ἐς τόπον*, *θ. ἐξ οἰκίας*. But these may be referred to the same root in the derived meaning seen in OBulg. *po-doba* 'Zier,' *po-dobŭti* 'passend, gleich machen,' from **dhabhjo-* like Gr. *θάπτω*, Lith. *dabinti* 'schmücken, putzen,' OE. *gedafen* 'what is fitting, due, right,' *gedæftan* 'put in order, arrange.'

202. Gr. *κάστωρ* 'beaver' may also be explained as 'the cutter, builder': Skt. *castrām* 'a cutting instrument; spear, knife, sword,' *ḥasati* 'cut, kill,' Lat. *castrāre* 'cut,' and probably also *castrum*.

Identical with this is probably *Κάστωρ* (cutter, swordsman), brother of *Πολυδεύκης*, renowned as a boxer (*πύκτης*), with which compare *δαιδύσσεσθαι* *ἰλκεσθαι* Hes., OHG. *zogōn* 'ziehen, zer-

ren, reissen, raufen,' *ziohan* 'ziehen,' etc. These are appropriate names for the reputed sons of *Τυνδάρεως* (: *tundo*) or of Zeus, the hurler of thunderbolts.

203. Gr. *πυκτίς* (or *πυκτίς*) in Ar. Ach. 879 may mean 'beaver.' If so, it corresponds with other words for beaver. With *πυκτίς* compare *πικρός* 'sharp,' Skt. *piśāti* 'cut out, shape, form, adorn, ausschneiden, zurechtschneiden, gestalten, bilden, schmücken,' *péçah* 'shape, form, color,' etc. For *πυκτίς* compare the root **peuk-* 'cut, be sharp': Gr. *πέυκη* 'fir,' *πενκάλιμος* 'sharp' (intellect), *πενκεδανός* 'sharp, bitter' (war), *έχε-πενκής* 'sharp-pointed,' etc.

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III.—THE PARACLAUSITHYRON AS A LITERARY THEME.¹

Whether one reads classical comedy, elegy, epigram, or lyric, he becomes familiar with the conventional figure of the exclusus amator.² He finds also that the early love-affair is often associated with the favorite's house-door, around which eager admirers throng.³ The door, usually obdurate and unyielding, is now apostrophized,⁴ now flattered,⁵ now treated with violence.⁶

¹ The only general discussion of the *παράκλαυσίθυρον* available is that by H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Philologie et Linguistique, Mélanges Havet*, Paris, 1909, pp. 573 ff., and A. Walter, *Journal of the Ministry of Popular Education, New Series XLVII* (1913), pp. 381-407, Saint Petersburg (in Russian). Brief comments are made also by Leo, *Rh. M.*, LV (1900), pp. 607-09; idem, *Gött. gel. Anzeigen*, 1898, p. 748; idem, *Plaut. Forsch.*, 1912, p. 155 f.; Crusius, *Philologus*, LV (1896), pp. 368 f.; idem, *Pauly-Wiss., s. v. Elegie*; Wilam.-Moellendorff, *Nachr. von der Königl. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Gött.*, *Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1896, pp. 224 ff.; Rothstein on *Propert.*, I, 16; idem, *Philologus*, LIX (1900), pp. 444 ff.; Smith, *The Elegies of Tibullus, Introd.*, p. 45, and notes on I, 2; Ellis, *introd. note on Catullus*, 67; Kiessl. on *Hor. Od.*, I, 25, 5; III, 10, 19; Preston, *Studies in the Diction of the Sermo Amatorius in Roman Comedy*, Chicago Diss., 1916, p. 26.

² Gildersleeve on *Persius*, 5, 166: "Antique erotic literature is full of the caterwaulings of excluded lovers"; see also Preston, *op. cit.*, p. 25 f., with a long list of examples, to which add Menander's characterization of Thais, *Frag. I* (CAF., III, p. 62 K.), and fragments in *Crusius, Herondas, ed. minor*, 1914, pp. 124, 129, 142. For Latin elegy see Smith, *op. cit.* In this department I have noted additional examples: *Tib.*, I, 1, 56; I, 5, 68; II, 3, 74 f.; II, 4, 22 f.; II, 6, 12 f.; *Propert.*, I, 5, 20; I, 18, 24; II, 7, 9; III, 17, 12 f.; III, 23, 12; IV, 3, 47; *Ovid, Amor.*, 2, 19, 21; *Ars Amat.*, 3, 69; *Rem. Am.*, 36.

³ *Plato, Symp.*, 183 A; *Theocr.*, 7, 122; *Philostr., Vitae Sophist.*, I, 2; *Catullus*, 63, 65; *Hor., Od.*, III, 10, 20; *Tib.*, II, 6, 47; *Propert.*, II, 6, 1 *Ephyrae Laidos aedes / ad cuius iacuit Graecia tota fores.*

⁴ Preston, l. c.

⁵ *Plaut., Curc.*, 16; *Tib.*, I, 2, 7-14 (Smith's note); *Ovid, Amor.*, III, 1, 45 *haec est blanditiis ianua laxa meis.*

⁶ Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, p. 155; Preston, l. c.; Smith on *Tib.*, I, 1, 73 and I, 10, 43-45. See also *Propert.*, I, 16, 5 f. *nunc ego, nocturnis potorum saucia rixis, / pulsata indignis saepe queror manibus*; *Ovid, Amor.*, I, 6, 75-58 *aut ego iam ferroque ignique paratior ipse / quem*

Vigils at the beloved one's door, a form of voluntary submission to the slavery of love, according to Plato,⁷ are frequently mentioned.⁸ In token of his devotion the lover decorates the door with garlands,⁹ or writes verses upon it.¹⁰ By way of variation he may sing a lover's serenade—a song technically known as a *παρακλανσίθυρον*,¹¹ a woeful ballad to the door which sepa-

face sustineo, tecta superba petam; Theophr., Char., 27 ἐρῶν ἐταίρας καὶ κρυφὸς προσβάλλων ταῖς θύραις πληγὰς εἰληφῶς ὑπ' ἀντεραστοῦ διακίεσθαι. Herondas, 2, 34 οὐδ' ἦλθεν πρὸς τὰς θύρας μὲν νυκτὸς οὐδ' ἔχων δῶδας τὴν οἰκίην ὑφῆλθεν. Lucian, Bis Acc., 31 καθ' ἐκάστην δὲ τὴν νύκτα ὁ μὲν στενωπὸς ἡμῶν ἐπεπιμπλατο μεθύοντων ἐρασῶν, κωμαζόντων ἐπὶ αὐτὴν καὶ κοπτόντων τὴν θύραν, ἐνίων, etc.

⁷ Symp., 183 A.

⁸ Anthol. Pal., V, 23; Propert., I, 16, 22; III, 17, 16; Ovid, Meta., XV, 709; Amor., II, 19, 21.

⁹ These the excluded lover takes from his head and leaves as evidence of his lonely and devoted waiting at the door. See Smith's note on Tib., I, 2, 14, with numerous references. Lucretius, IV, 1177 f. gives a comprehensive account of the lover's acts in this situation: at lacrimans exclusus amator limina saepe / floribus et sertis operit postisque superbos / unguis amaracino et foribus miser oscula figit. Plutarch (De ira cohibenda, 5) says that these characteristic practices of the lover, *ὅλον ἐπικωμάσαι καὶ ᾄσαι καὶ στεφανῶσαι θύραν*, quite contrary to the result of indulging anger, afford a kind of alleviation which is neither rude nor unpleasing.

¹⁰ Plaut., Merc., 408 occentent ostium: / impleantur elegeorum meas fores carbonibus; Ovid, Amor., III, 1, 53 [Elegeia] / vel quotiens foribus duris incisa pependi / non verita a populo praetereunte legi. In Anth. Pal., V, 189 the inscription is written upon the garlands.

¹¹ The etymology proposed by H. de la Ville de Mirmont (*παρακλαίω* + *θύρα*), while not convincing, seems to be the one generally accepted. The lexicons give little help. My colleague, Professor W. A. Oldfather, offers the following discussion: That *παρακλανσίθυρον* means "a lament beside a door," is the general opinion of scholars, although H. de la Ville de Mirmont, is the only one I have noted who makes the unequivocal statement "*παρακλαίω*, lamenter devant; *θύρα* porte." Cf. also E. A. Sophocles: A Greek Lex., s. v. An exception might be made of Fr. Dübner, in the Didot ed. of Plutarch, whose translation of *Ἑρωτικός*, 8, is: "ad fores eius ipsa adeat, et clausis occentet carmen," but this is probably an explanation only. Such an unusual compound as *παρακλαίω* + *θύρα* would seem to require more justification than I can find at present for it. It would be strange, and is unattested. In Rufinus, Anthol. Pal., V, 103, 1 Μέχρι τίνος, Προδίκη, παρακλαύσομαι; the verb is intransitive, and the exact meaning uncertain. It may be "turn one aside from one's purpose by lamenting," as in the Scholia to Aristophanes, quite as well as "lament beside (thee?)" In its only other occurrence (Schol. Ven. on Aristoph., Vesp., 977), *παρακλαίω* seems to

rates him from the object of his affection. The practice of the lover's serenade is frequently indicated in Greek and Latin literature, but the technical term occurs only in Plutarch's *Ἐρωτικός*. In this dialogue (§ 8) one of the interlocutors is made to enumerate sundry acts which show the essence of

mean, from the context, "lament-to-the-misleading." May it not be that in *-κλαυσι-* we have a derivative from the stem in *κλείω*? This appears as *klēv*, *klēv*, *klāv* (Boisacq; Walde). In Polyb. V. 393 *παρέκλεισαν*, generally regarded as corrupt, certainly means "murdered," as is shown by the context, and especially by Plutarch, Cleom., 37, who, in quoting Polybius (or his source) verbatim, substitutes *ἀπέκτειναν*. It is noteworthy that the same word is used in 2 Maccab. 4, 34 to describe the assassination of Onias, where again the context proves that it means "murder," and so Jerome took it ("eum peremit"). In view of the use of *κλείς* in the sense of "collar-bone," a particularly vital spot, like the English "fifth rib" (compare the well-known statue of the Gaul who is killing himself by thrusting the sword down into the chest behind the collar-bone, and such a passage as Sophocles, Trach., 1035 *παῖσον ἐμὰς ὑπὸ κλῆδος*) we may very well have here a bit of military argot for a particular way of dealing the death stroke. The combination is one of the familiar *ἐλκεσίπτερος* type (Brugmann, II, 1, p. 64 B; Brugmann-Thumb, pp. 199 f.). While *κλείω* regularly forms its aorist stem *κλεισ-* (and these *ti-* compounds seem to be formed on this stem), the vocalism in *κλαυσι* is perfectly normal as **klāuti* — or **klēuti*), and such a form might well have occurred in Doric dialects which retained words like *κλᾶίς* and *κλᾶξ*.

As to semasiology, the word is clearly an adjective compound, being originally *τὸ παρακλαυσίθυρον μέλος*. Although not attested before Plutarch, such words point to Alexandria, and the genre is as old as Theocritus and Aristophanes. It may be that a disdainful mistress was called *ἡ παρακλαυσίθυρος*, "the-lock-the-door-in-your-face-girl," and then a ditty sung by the locked-out lover might well be a *παρακλαυσίθυρον μέλος*, i. e., "a song to a door-locking mistress." That the girl's designation might be applied to the song would be not unnatural in the light of Alain Chartier's "*Lay de la belle Dame sans mercy*," which is in the form of a carmen amoebaeum between the lover and la belle Dame. This poem by virtue of its widespread popularity in France, where it inspired much uninspired imitation, through Sir Ros's translation (falsely ascribed to Chaucer), and John Keats's ballad with the same title, is almost on the verge of becoming a type-name itself. Or possibly, the haughty mistress might have been called merely *ἡ κλαυσίθυρος* and then the song *τὸ παρὰ τῇ κλαυσίθρῳ μέλος*, i. e., "the song sung before (coram) the door-locker." *παρακλείω*, in the sense of "exclude" is used by Herodotus, VI, 60 (cf. *παράφρᾶσω* and *παρείρξαν*, *ἐκώλυσαν*, i. e., "excluded," in Hesychius). The other instances of

passion, — masquerading before the loved one's doors, singing amorous lamentations at the windows, adorning statues with chaplets and garlands of flowers, duelling with rivals,¹² etc. Plutarch's reference is unique, not only in the particular indicated, but also (save for a papyrus fragment published by Grenfell, and an elegy of Maximianus of Etruria—both pieces discussed below) in that it represents the serenade as given by a woman, not by a man. The custom of the serenade, however, far antedates the time of Plutarch. The earliest and most charming instance is a song of sixteen verses found in Aristophanes.¹³ Whether the closed door is here obdurate or yielding it is impossible to determine, although the comic setting suggests that the girl was not insensible to the lover's pleading. According to Rogers (see note on his translation), we have here not a παρακλαυσίθυρον, but merely an interchange of lovers' songs, since the youth from below is singing to the girl at the casement, just as she from above has been singing to him. In any event the youth standing before the house sings a strain which rings true to the παρακλαυσίθυρον type. This ballad, both in substance and in setting, is suggestive of the serenade in the Barbier de Séville,¹⁴ in which, as Figaro is leaning against the wall under Rosine's window, count Almaviva sings, walking back and forth and playing an accompaniment on the guitar:

Je suis Lindor, ma naissance est commune;
 Mes vœux sont ceux d'un simple bachelier.
 Que n'ai-je, hélas! d'un brillant chevalier,
 A vous offrir le rang et la fortune!

Tous les matins, ici, d'une voix tendre,
 Je chanterai mon amour sans espoir;

παρακλείω quoted in the lexicons throw no light on the particular word, and it may well be doubted if they have anything to do with it. I should add that the late Professor E. W. Fay kindly assisted me with suggestions and parallels in the writing of this note. He is not to be held responsible, however, for any errors it may contain.

¹² *Moralia*, 753 B: ἐρᾶται γὰρ αὐτοῦ νῆ Δία καὶ κἀται· τίς οὖν ὁ κωλύων ἐστὶ κωμάζειν ἐπὶ θύρας, ἔδειν τὸ παρακλαυσίθυρον, ἀναδεῖν τὰ εἰκόνη, παγκρατίζειν πρὸς τοὺς ἀντεραστάς; Cf. also *Anth. Pal.*, V, 102.

¹³ *Eccles.*, 960-977.

¹⁴ Act I, Scene VI.

Je bornerai mes plaisirs à vous voir ;
Et puissiez-vous en trouver à m'entendre !

Then Rosine answers from within :

Tout me dit que Lindor est charmant,
Que je dois l'aimer constamment.

Other examples from Greek literature occur in Theocritus. In one poem ¹⁵ a nameless goatherd approaches the grot of the shepherdess Amaryllis, and attempts to win back the heart of the girl by appeal, but all in vain. Then from direct appeal he turns to the indirect persuasion of a song. Failing to move Amaryllis he gives way to despair, throws himself down beneath the trees and sings a plaintive song. In another poem of the Theocritean corpus ¹⁶ the *παρακλαυσίθυρον* is interwoven with the tragic story of a lover's death. A youth whose suit is denied comes in tears to the threshold of his mistress, and laments bitterly his treatment at the hands of a curst and cruel maid, at whose gates he will say a long adieu, "taking the path that whoso treads hath ease from love."

The fragment published by Grenfell ¹⁷ has given rise to much discussion as to what literary type it represents, to what period it belongs, and whether it stands alone or as part of a greater whole. The piece offers difficulties of interpretation, but its subject is, on the whole, clearly recognizable, and the evidence offered by technique, content, and setting point almost certainly to its inclusion within the *παρακλαυσίθυρον* type.¹⁸ Any reader

¹⁵ 3, 23 ff.

¹⁶ 23.

¹⁷ An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek Papyri, Oxford, 1896.

¹⁸ The work is written on the verso of a contract dated in the eighth year of Philometor, hence is later than 173 B. C., but probably earlier than the end of that century (Grenfell). Only the first and a part of the second column are preserved of what may have been three columns devoted to the composition. Grenfell regards it as a kind of declamation written in half poetical, half rhetorical prose, the precursor of the romances which are found in papyri of the Roman period. This view is accepted by Diels (Deutsche Literaturzeitung, 1896, Nr. 20), who believes it is an excerpt from an Alexandrian romance: "wie man damals einzelne Scenen aus Euripides zu Schulzwecken ausschnitt." The asyndeta, the poetic choice and order of words, the rhythm, the interchange of poetic and prose turns are to Diels strongly suggestive

will discover that the chief (if not the only) speaker is a forsaken maiden, who relates that her faithless lover has abandoned her, notwithstanding which her love for him still burns. She apostrophizes the stars and night and asks to be admitted into his presence, she a willing slave by Venus led. Distracted with passion and beside herself with resentment she asks for garlands with which to adorn herself, passing on to entreaty and pleading that she be not driven away from the closed door. Then follows a statement of the torture of love's denial, a declaration of anger, and finally an appeal for reconciliation. The

of Hegesias. Weil (*Revue des études grecques*, IX (1896), p. 169) says the piece has the character of a mime, a form of composition written in prose rhythm approaching regular versification. In support he points to a long succession of dochmiac feet, indicative of verses remote from simple declamation. Close study of the rhythm is made also by Blass (*Jahrb. f. cl. Philol.*, XLII (1896), pp. 347-54), with the conclusion that we have a *μελέτη* on the theme: *τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους κόρη ἀπολειφθεῖσα τοῦ ἐραστοῦ*. With respect both to metrical technique and literary parallels the piece is given a searching examination by Crusius (*Philologus*, LV (1896), pp. 353-84), who makes a few changes (see also his *Herondas*⁵, p. 124 ff.) in Grenfell's transcription, with important changes in interpretation. He rejects the theory of a romance or a mere declamation, and because of the unmistakably melic character of some of the stanzas, which also show fixed metrical form, he concludes that we have to do with a lyrical poem which was intended to be sung: "als ein Paraklausithyron ist dieser Abschnitt aufzufassen." As for the Hellenistic circle to which the author belongs, Crusius suggests Simos of Magnesia, the chief master of the hilarode or lyric mime. Rohde (*Berlin, Phil. Woch.*, XVI (1896), 1045) says of its type, "Das Lied war ein nächtliches *παράκλαυσίθυρον*, gegen Zucht und Natur vom Mädchen vor dem Hause des Geliebten gesungen. Es ist keine geringe Poesie." The use of *δῶχμοι* suggests a tragedy of erotic material, but our knowledge of Alexandrian lyric and half lyric poetry is so slight as to leave us uncertain whether in that, as in the Attic period, *δῶχμοι* were limited to tragedy and comedy, or whether their use was extended to a kind of melic art, of which these verses might be a part. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (*Des Mädchens Klage, eine alexandrinische Arie*, loc. cit., note 1 above) argues that in poetic form the poem represents an extension of the tragic aria, no resemblance to which is recognizable in the Hellenistic period. In verse technique it belongs to the later period of Sophocles and Euripides, while the language can scarcely be earlier than Eratosthenes. Its content corresponds to the epigrams of Asclepiades, model of Theocritus, and in point of time the poem probably does not stand far from Asclepiades.

fragment which contains a series of technical terms that have abundant parallels, has recently been translated.^{18a}

Further representatives of the literary theme under discussion are furnished by epigrams in the *Anthologia Palatina*. In a poem by Meleager of Gadara, the lover leaves at the door garlands upon which he writes an inscription.¹⁹ In another epigram, by Asclepiades, an appeal is made to garlands left at the door to pour down tears on the head of the inmate at the opening of the door.²⁰ To the same author is ascribed also a poem²¹ in which the lover invokes night to witness how he is scorned by one who is traitress in love. The conventional setting is found in still another poem by Asclepiades.²² The time is winter, the night is long, while back and forth before the door of her that is heartless paces the lover to whom Cypris has sent not love but an arrow that bringeth much grief. Callimachus is represented by one epigram,²³ which closes with the threat of time's revenge, a feature quite in harmony with the elegiac epigram and the type under discussion.

It is doubtless through Hellenistic influence that the custom of the lover's lament at the closed door passes into Latin literature. The first instance occurs in a canticum of Plautus,²⁴ which, with the example from Aristophanes cited above, constitutes the second of our two surviving *παρὰ λανσίδουρα* in the department of comedy. Phaedromus is feverishly in love with Planesium, a young woman in the possession of Cappadox, and in the immediate keeping of a duenna whose wont it is to sleep in Cappadox's house, near the door and in the capacity of door-keeper. Knowing the old dame's weakness for the cup that cheers, Phaedromus plans to sprinkle the door with wine, hoping that she will thus be induced to open it. Accompanied by his servant he advances to the door and addresses it in entreating words: "Come drink, thou jolly door, drink, be willing and be kindly unto me." This is followed by a dialogue characterized by persiflage on the part of the servant, desperate seriousness on the part of Phaedromus, and maudlin abandon on the part of

^{18a} By S. Gaselee in *Daphnis and Chloe, Parthenius and other Fragments* (Loeb Classical Library).

¹⁹ V, 191.

²⁰ V, 164.

²¹ V, 23.

²² V, 145.

²³ V, 189.

²⁴ *Curculio*, 147 ff.

the duenna, who, won over by the lavish dispensation of wine, promises to fetch the girl. But fond Phaedromus, still anxious and distrusting the door, which so often plays the lover cheat, sings to the door's fastenings, entreating that the bolts leap back and the girl be sent forth at once.

Roman lyric and elegiac poets from Catullus to Ovid show personal variations in treating the παρακλανσίθυρον. Catullus uses it as the setting for a lampoon,²⁵ in which all the scandal of a certain house in Verona is revealed by the door, a witness which cannot quit its post, which has been treated as if it could neither hear nor speak, but which, in fact, has heard the lady of the house in familiar and compromising conversation with her maids. Taking advantage of night's shadows Catullus comes to the house of this young matron whose conduct, rumor says, has forfeited the house's hitherto good name. In words of ironical gentleness, the poet addresses the door, from which he inquires as to the reason for rumors that are heard: "Hail door, dear to the amiable husband and dear to his father, and may Jove bless thee with his good aid, O door, who they say didst erewhile serve Balbus with good will when the old man lived here; and who they say again didst serve an evil intent after he was dead, and the mistress of the house again became a bride. Come now, tell me why thou art reported to be so changed and to have thus renounced thy fealty of old to thy master." The door replies: "It is not my fault, although it is said to be so; nor can any one say that any offense has been committed by me; but if you believe the tale of gossipers, everything is the door's doing: for whenever anything is known to have been done amiss, they all cry out at me, 'It is your fault, door.'" On Catullus' reassurance that it is not the door's conduct about which he wishes information, but that of the house's inmates, the door repeats the confidences which it has heard interchanged.

An equally well-known example of the παρακλανσίθυρον occurs in Horace's Odes.²⁶ This poem, a cold night's serenade before the barred door, seems, however, more like a jeu d'esprit than a serious appeal. The lover addresses Lyce, the mistress of a wealthy mansion, who is assailed now with reproaches for her cruelty, now with warning and sarcasm, again with appeals to

²⁵ 67.

²⁶ III, 10.

pity, and finally with the unavailing threat that she will be renounced for all time (*non hoc semper erit liminis aut aquae/caelestis patiens latus*), a comic and euphemistic variation of the lover's threat to cast himself down on the spot and die, as in the instances from Aristophanes and Theocritus.

Horace, in another Ode,²⁷ introduces also the *forme banale* of the serenade, as seen in Catullus, to taunt Lydia, who, because of fading charms, is no longer sought by bold admirers and sighing lovers, as when her years were in their spring. Her loneliness and her forlorn state are heightened by the cold howling winds without, the darkness of night, etc., frequent factors in poems of the type under review. The song proper is found in verses 7-8, an echo of a lover's pleading which was once heard, but now is heard no more about her door: "me tuo longa pereunte noctes, / Lydia, dormis."

If these poems from Horace's pen seem to be literary exercises, ironical and of the lighter vein, poems in which he is pleased to play rival to the poets of the Anthology, we must, on the other hand, be sensible of a real sincerity in the pathetic lament of Tibullus shedding tears before the door of Delia, to whom he was bound by a real and tender devotion. Tibullus' treatment of the *παράκλαυσιθυρον* is found in the following situation. The poet's love-affair until now has run smoothly; countless times passing through the darkness of night he has kept rendezvous with Delia; protected by Venus, who favors the fearless and makes lovers sacrosanct, he has had nought to fear from the attacks of late passers-by. No band of midnight revellers has approached with torch, bent on learning his identity; those who have recognized him have become his helpers and have not revealed his name; Venus has rendered him insensible to the benumbing cold of winter and to pelting rains; his only thought has been of the moment in which Delia with soft step would steal away from her watchers, gently open the door, and with silent beckoning summon him to her side. But times have changed, Delia is married, and her husband has gone off to war in quest of spoil and fame. To Tibullus' sorrow Delia is closely guarded and the door refuses to open. Hence the imprecation and entreaty against the cruel and unfeeling door which thwarts the

²⁷ I, 25.

poet's every plan: "Surly door, may the rain beat upon thee, may the lightning smite thee at the command of Jove. Open, door, for me only, overcome by my plaintive appeals, and make no noise as thou turnest stealthily on thy hinges. And if my mad passion has visited thee with harsh words, be mine thy forgiveness, and let them return upon my own head I pray. Remember the things ten thousand I said in suppliant tone, at what times I hung thy frames with garlands of flowers."²⁸

Propertius does not address his lament²⁹ directly to the door as does Tibullus. Nor does he speak it in dialogue, as Catullus, with whom, however, he seems to engage in a sort of theme rivalry. The door, the sole speaker, recalls in a soliloquy the ballad sung by an unfortunate lover who spends his nights in sorrowing at the doorstep. The song may have been one addressed to Cynthia by Propertius himself, since it contains much that parallels Propertius' sad experience with that belle dame sans merci. The door belongs to a house that once was highly favored, but is now in ill repute because of its occupant, who cares nothing for her own reputation or for the honored associations of the place, a door that in former days opened for great triumphs, a door whose threshold had been visited by gilded cars and had been bathed with a captive suppliant's tears. As the door interrogated by Catullus, so this has ears to hear and a tongue to speak. It is wounded by the nightly brawls of revellers and must often complain of blows from unworthy hands, while degrading garlands are ever near, and torches are cast on the ground below—a sign to the excluded lover that a more favored rival is within. This door once so honored is the victim of vile lampoon and ribald song. Full often it hears the lament of a suppliant who never allows its posts to slumber, as with artful blandishments he utters his strains, one of which the door repeats and so gives us the text of the most extended *παράκλησιθρον* which has come down to us.

Ovid, learned pupil and ingenious imitator of a long line of poets schooled in the technique of erotic poetry, employs in turn the *παράκλησιθρον* episode in the romance of his love for Corinna. A poem in the *Amores*³⁰ offers one of the best de-

²⁸ I, 2.²⁹ I, 6.³⁰ I, 16.

scriptions of the situation typical of the lover's song, although, save for a short refrain, it contains no song. Ovid represents himself as spending the night at Corinna's door, entreating the guardian to let him in. He thus introduces a new motive in the variations which his predecessors have already made on a hackneyed theme. His version is an appeal to the doorkeeper, plaintive yet at times threatening, and in all particulars in keeping with Ovid's fondness for rhetorical presentation. While a number of the details presented by Ovid are conventional, his appeal is not to the door, as in Tibullus. Nor, as Catullus, does he engage it in dialogue. He does not make the door speak alone, as it does in Propertius. Ovid's appeal is practical—to the doorkeeper, who has a way of hearing those who know how to make themselves heard, the means of accomplishing which Ovid elsewhere³¹ indicates in a bit of counsel which he himself might have followed to advantage, when he wished to gain entrance to Corinna's well-guarded house. "Take my advice, array in your interest the whole servant tribe; forget not the doorkeeper, nor the watcher who sleeps at the entrance to your lady's door." Corinna's doorkeeper seems to be an early ancestor of Petit-Jean, doorkeeper of M. Perrin Dandin, the crazy judge, in Racine's *Les Plaideurs*.³² Ovid no doubt failed to tip the doorkeeper, who probably divided the doorkeeper's perquisites with Corinna, even as did Petit-Jean with his master. Venality in love affairs at imperial Rome played an important rôle.³³

After Ovid's *Amores* Latin literature yields no example of the lover's song, nor even a mention of one in many cases where we should expect such mention. Seneca the Philosopher writes to Lucilius:³⁴ "Do you not see what trifling causes bring men to despise life? Here is one who hangs himself before the door of his mistress." The moralist who is ready to censure the

³¹ *Ars Amat.*, II, 259-60.

³² Act I, Scene I, ll. 13-17:

On avait beau heurter et m'ôter son chapeau,
On n'entrait point chez nous sans graisser le marteau.
Point d'argent, point de Suisse, et ma porte était close.
Il est vrai qu'à Monsieur j'en rendais quelque chose.

³³ Cf. *Tib.*, II, 4, 29-34; *Propert.*, IV, 5, 47; *Ovid, Amor.*, II, 8, 63.

³⁴ *Epist.*, I, 4, 4.

follies of his contemporaries makes no allusion here to a *παράκλαυσίθυρον*, such as preceded the death of despondent lovers at an earlier period in identical situations.³⁵ The school declamations of the first century of the Empire, which develop the most romantic scenes of private life, show no instances. The *Controversiae*³⁶ of Seneca Rhetor give glimpses of the young debauchee and the old man in love; of the fop who affects a languid walk and passes his days and nights at degrading banquets. So in the *Declamationes* attributed to Quintilian³⁷ we meet the roué and disappointed lovers whom despair drives to self-destruction. But not one of these themes, so common in the rhetorical schools, has to do with the song of lament, given by Plutarch as one of the disconsolate lover's characteristic acts. The satirists do not ridicule the custom, because, no doubt, it had passed into disuse. In Juvenal's time an interview between lovers was not conditioned on a song of lament, as sympathetic helpers were at hand.³⁸ Persius in a satire touching the Stoic doctrine of moral freedom, and in proof that all men are slaves, gives the illustration of a young lover, repentant but powerless to disengage himself from a passion which makes him a disgrace to his family, a squanderer of his patrimony, and a singer of maudlin songs at Chrysis' door. The example here is the stock one of slavery to love, and is borrowed from comedy, an indication that this type of young man is no longer found in Roman society at the end of the first century. For, if the custom of the lover's woeful song had not been abandoned,³⁹ it is difficult to

³⁵ Theoc., 23, 49 f.; Ovid, *Meta.*, XV, 735 ff.

³⁶ II, 1, 6-15; II, 6, 4-9.

³⁷ XIV, 3; XV, 9-10.

³⁸ 6, 231-242.

³⁹ This conclusion is supported by a recent interpretation of the words *udas ante fores* in the Persius passage discussed by Fiske (C. P., XI, pp. 336 ff.), who rejects the current view of editors that the lines as a whole constitute an allusion to a *παράκλαυσίθυρον*, the natural inference from the use of *canto*: "the lover's strain (*canto*) is presented from the point of view of New Comedy and satire, though doubtless the comic scene was not uninfluenced by the more fully formulated scenes of erotic literature and may even have taken its genesis from them." We have, then, simply the *exclusus amator* held up to ridicule. This is the more convincing since in the Terence exclusion scene, used by both Horace and Persius, there is no reference to watchings at night or of the lover's song. The phrase *udas ante fores* Fiske ex-

see why satire, if it is making allusion to the *παράκλαυσίθυρον*, would go back and present it in the setting of Menander's comedy rather than in that of erotic poetry, where the custom is prevalent.

In Martial the *παράκλαυσίθυρον*, if referred to at all, is referred to only to be satirized as a thing quite out of fashion. A certain Cotta, who might sleep on a couch as soft as that of Venus, spends his nights at the threshold of a haughty mistress, whose door, deaf to his consuming groans, is wet with his tears.⁴⁰ The individual here mentioned is probably satirized simply as an *exclusus amator*, but if there is any reference to a lover's song of lament it means that in Martial's time it is no longer genteel to pass the night before the closed door, "sighing like a furnace," as was done at an earlier day. Petronius makes no reference to the serenade, nor does Apuleius in the *Metamorphoses*. In the *De Magia*,⁴¹ however, he speaks of boisterous songs which at night disturb the quiet city of Oea. But Apuleius is here describing merely a vulgar scene of nightly revel, young ruffians in assembly before a certain house, attacking the door and making the windows echo with wanton songs.

Nevertheless, that the tradition lingers in the eastern Roman Empire is shown by the mention of a lover's serenade in Maximianus of Etruria, a late imitator of the Augustan elegists.⁴² This writer, a friend of the philosopher Boethius, was a member of an embassy sent during the early years of the sixth century by Theodoric, king of Italy, to Anastasius, emperor of Constantinople, to bring about an alliance between the East and the West. At the end of his career he tells in one of his poems⁴³ of a song which he heard sung by a Greek *femme galante* during the course of his embassy. But the account is not of Maximianus lamenting, as Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid, before a woman's door; it is the Graia puella who comes by

plains, from parallels in Lucilius and Horace, as referring to a deluge of water poured upon the excluded lover, and not to unguents, wine, or tears (frequently mentioned in erotic literature).

⁴⁰ X, 13.

⁴¹ 75.

⁴² See Robinson Ellis, *On the Elegies of Maximianus*, A. J. P., V (1884), pp. 1-15 and 145-163.

⁴³ See PLM. (Baehrens), VI, p. 340 with note introductory to the elegy.

night to the windows of Theodoric's ambassador and by singing a melody endeavors to make him a victim of the artifices of an Oriental siren.

To summarize: the *παρακλασιθυρον* is indigenous to Greek soil, as is apparent from its occurrence in Aristophanes, Asclepiades, Meleager of Gadara, Callimachus and other poets of the Anthology. In Theocritus it is associated with the tragic death of disappointed lovers. In Hellenic civilization lovers continued after the time of Plutarch to utter laments more or less literary before the unyielding door. Lucian in one of his dialogues⁴⁴ makes a character say that the title of true lover is reserved for those who come to sigh, to weep, and to watch by the door the long night through. Plautus, writing the *Curculio* about 193 B. C., and not over-careful in eliminating from Greek originals features out of harmony with Roman manners, introduces a lover's lament. It is easy to understand that Plautus' young contemporaries, after a night of drinking, might go to make merry at a favorite's door and write upon it verses of vulgar sentiment. But it is not probable that rude soldiers of the Punic wars were accustomed to sing graceful appeals to the unrelenting door. Even when the *Eunuchus* was written, it is likely that the *παρακλασιθυρον* was not well enough known at Rome for Terence to employ it in the polished and refined literary circle of his aristocratic patrons. Catullus may himself have been a singer of the *παρακλασιθυρον*. As for Horace and the elegiac poets of the Augustan age, it is difficult to determine in their treatment of the theme, save in the case of Tibullus, where the *Wahrheit* leaves off and where the *Dichtung* begins. In satire and epigram evidence for the lover's lament is negative, as it is also in the writings of the Senecas. Passing thence, all traces of the lament are lost until the time of Maximianus, where the setting is not Latin but Greek, since it is not a man, as invariably in the Latin type, but a woman, who sings the melody.

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⁴⁴ *Ἑταίρικοι*, VIII, 2.

IV.—THE ARROW OF ACESTES.

The number seven with its connotation of perfection formed the subject of a quaint dissertation by Varro,¹ was not deemed beneath the notice of Cicero, who calls this number "the *nodus* of all things,"² and seems to have exercised some fascination over Virgil, particularly in association with the seventh and last year of the hero's wanderings. He arrives in Africa with seven ships and slays seven head of deer for his companions.³ The wonderful serpent that emerged from the tomb of Anchises displayed seven coils, as it leisurely wound itself about the altar.⁴ The gauntlets of Eryx, half-brother of Aeneas, which brought good luck to Entellus, were of sevenfold leather.⁵ It was seven victims that the priestess ordered to be slain,⁶ and Anchises, as an indispensable item of prophecy, must mention the seven hills of the future city.⁷ Taking these references together and noting the relative infrequency of the number in other parts of the poem, we seem justified in concluding that Virgil is quite consciously employing the mystic connotation of perfection when representing the misfortunes and probation of Aeneas as enduring for a cycle of seven years.

That the first departure of Aeneas from Sicily is imagined to have taken place just after midsummer is made clear by the reference to the rising of Orion,⁸ which occurs just after the solstice, as we learn from the elder Pliny and from Servius himself, who quotes Sallust for authority.⁹ It must also be noted, since the ancient tradition placed the fall of Troy in the month of June,¹⁰ that the death of Anchises, which shortly preceded the departure of Aeneas, is to be thought of as taking place on or about the sixth anniversary of the Trojan disaster. Aeneas spends the whole seventh year at Carthage and returns just in time to celebrate the annual rites at the tomb of his

¹ A. Gellius iii, 10.

² i, 170 and 192.

³ v, 404.

⁴ vi, 783.

⁵ N. H. xviii, 268; Servius on v, 626.

⁶ Parian Marble: Insc. Græc. xii, 5, 1 p. 105, Epochæ xxiv.

⁷ *Somnium Scipionis* v.

⁸ v, 85.

⁹ vi, 38.

¹⁰ i, 535.

father.¹¹ Consequently we may infer that the games mark the termination of the mystic cycle of seven years.

We are assuming that Virgil had his chronology clearly worked out in his own mind and deliberately planned to suggest coincidences with the Roman Calendar. When Aeneas arrived at the court of Evander it happened to be the day of the annual rites of Hercules,¹² which would have suggested to any Roman reader the twelfth day of August just as definitely as Christmas suggests to us the twenty-fifth day of December. Turning back to the sixth book we find the hero undertaking a solemn vow to dedicate temples and establish festivals in honor of Phoebus and Diana,¹³ which brings to mind the Ludi Apollinares of July 6-13.¹⁴ We may therefore assume that Virgil thought of his pilgrims as reaching Sicily in June, Cumae in July, and Latium in August. We believe it possible to fix the chronology even more definitely still.

The crucial verse for the determination of time and also for the interpretation of the fifth book is 626:

Septima post Troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas.

We take *vertitur* as a figure from the circus suggesting the *meta solis*¹⁵ or *cardo anni*¹⁶ and so we translate "is rounding the turn," that is, the day of the games is the day of the solstice when the sun with his fiery steeds "rounds the turn" of his course. Moreover, since there is no point in saying that the summer is rounding the turn, we take *aestas* for *annus* and translate "The seventh year since the fall of Troy is now rounding the turn." This rendering has also the advantage of eliminating the inconsistency between the line before us and the *septima aestas* of *Aen.* i, 755. Now the solstice falls on June 24th, the day of the festival of Fors Fortuna and it can hardly be accidental that Fortuna is mentioned in the line preceding the one we discuss:

O gens
infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reservat?
Septima post Troiae excidium iam vertitur aestas.

Evidence is available to make this suggestion a certainty.

¹¹ v, 45 f.

¹² vi, 69 f.

¹³ Servius on v, 626.

¹⁴ viii, 102 f.; Fowler R. F. p. 193.

¹⁵ R. F. p. 179.

¹⁶ Pliny, N. H. xviii, 268.

When the Aeneadae reached the high seas after leaving Carthage and found the winds becoming violent and contrary, Palinurus proposes that they place themselves in the hands of Fortuna:

Superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur,
quoque vocat, vertamus iter.¹⁷

Although editors must be in frequent doubt whether they ought to capitalize the word *Fortuna*, the personification is too manifest in this instance to admit of any doubt. Palinurus is a pilot and Fortune is mistress of the seas.¹⁸ A frequent symbol of hers is the rudder or steering oar. Her chief temples at Rome were near the Tiber and consequently among the seafaring population. It is to be noted too how good luck follows Aeneas from the moment of placing himself under the guidance of the goddess. The sacrifices are favorable beyond his hopes; the weather proves to be serene on the day of the games, and the contests are prosperously sped. Even the omen of the arrow, which marks the close of the contests, must have been good since Aeneas eagerly welcomed it. This will be discussed in its proper place.

The same thread of thought about Fortuna and her protection may be picked up in line 604:

Hic primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit.

The personification in this line is even more striking than in the previous passage and admits of no doubt that we are dealing with a deity. We venture thus to paraphrase: "At this juncture the goddess, Fortuna, who had smiled upon us since the departure from Carthage, for the first time displayed her former fickleness." The conception of the divinity that lies behind the poet's words is further revealed in vi, 62:

Hac Troiana tenus fuerit Fortuna secuta!

This *Fortuna Troiana*, the ill luck that dogged the footsteps of the Trojans for seven years, could not fail by the analogy of opposites to suggest to a Roman of Augustan days the good luck that had followed the Roman state for seven centuries. This title, *Fortuna Troiana*, is the poet's antonym of contemporary

¹⁷ 22-23.

¹⁸ Horace, *Odes* i, 35, 6.

cult names such as *Fortuna Augusta*, *Fortuna Caesarum*. It is a poetical innuendo. He wishes to hint that the Fortune of the Caesars had already adopted the ancestor of the Caesars.

The association of Aeneas with *Fortuna* suggests a comparison of the games in honor of Anchises with the festival of that goddess, particularly since they both take place on the solstice. If Virgil had the calendar in mind, as we showed reason to believe, then he could hardly fail to let it guide him here. Ovid, who is our chief authority, gives the welcome information that the festival took the form of a regatta on the Tiber and his words do not preclude the idea that boat-races and foot-races took place:

Ite, deam laeti Fortem celebrate, Quirites!
In Tiberis ripa munera regis habet.
Pars pede, pars etiam celeri decurrite cymba,
Nec pudeat potos inde redire domum.
Ferte coronatae iuvenum convivia lintres:
Multaque per medias vina bibantur aquas.¹⁹

If races took place they would be merely canoe races according to our text but the aquatic nature of the celebration is very suggestive for the games of Anchises. One must also recall that the great *Naumachia* of Augustus was constructed in the *Nemus Caesarum* across the Tiber,²⁰ which was identical with or near the *Horti Caesaris* where a most venerable and ancient shrine of *Fortuna* was situated.²¹ Servius²² notes that the *naumachia* as an institution dated back to the first Punic war when the nations began to realize the importance of naval power. It goes without saying that boat-races must have played a large part in the training of crews from the very first and we might even imagine that boat-races were staged in the *naumachia* of Augustus. It was a sort of naval circus.

The second significant resemblance between the games and the festival is the dual character of each, associating the shade of a man with the goddess. One will recall in Ovid's lines that the words *munera regis* occur. This king, of course, is Servius Tullius, the great benefactor of the plebeians and the favorite of *Fortuna*. One may read most conveniently in Plutarch's *Fortune of the Romans* the story of his miraculous birth and his

¹⁹ *Fasti* vi, 775 f.

²⁰ *Mon. Ancy.* c. 23.

²¹ *Fowler*, *R. F.* pp. 161 f.

²² v, 114.

intimacy with the goddess. So closely were the two associated that a veiled statue in the Forum Boarium was claimed by some to be the goddess and by some to be the king.²³ In later times one meets a similar association of a man and Fortuna in the case of Julius Caesar. No matter how neutral may be Caesar's references to her in his writings,²⁴ he sacrificed to her before setting out against Pompey and the common people regarded him as her favorite.²⁵

The misunderstanding of the fifth book is due chiefly to the mischievous idea that these are funeral games. The poet never suggests that we should so consider them and never hints an excuse for their not being performed at the time of the funeral. The truth is that they cannot be considered as funeral games for the simple reason that they are not performed at the time of the funeral. Neither can one regard them, with Servius, as a performance of the Parentalia because this rite belonged to the month of February and the games of the fifth book occur in June. It is just as impossible to regard them as a celebration of the private Parentalia since these were exclusive and Aeneas gives the utmost publicity to his performance. Moreover, there were no athletic contests associated with either public or private Parentalia and so we have a common reason for dismissing both from our thoughts. The only alternative left is to assume that we have here the institution of an annual and public parentatio such as was accorded by the state to Acca Larentia in return for her benefactions.²⁶ Additional importance attaches to this comparison since the annual and public sacrifice to Acca Larentia took place on the winter solstice, Dec. 23rd, and our games take place on the day of the summer solstice, June 24th.

It is an unquestioned fact that the sacrifice performed by Aeneas is a parentatio. It may also be noted that it is to be annual:

*annua vota tamen sollemnisque ordine pompas
exsequeretur strueremque suis altaria donis."*

²³ References in Fowler, R. F. p. 156.

²⁴ Classical Review, xvii, pp. 153 f.

²⁵ Dio, 41, 39, 2. Cf. Appian, B. C. ii, 9, 57.

²⁶ Macrobius, i, 10, 15-17. " 53-54.

Poscamus ventos atque haec me sacra quotannis
urbe velit posita templis sibi ferre dicatis.⁵⁹

It is also public:

Adhibete Penates
et patrios epulis et quos colit hospes Aecetes.⁶⁰
cuncti adsint meritaque expectent praemia palmae.⁶¹

We take the following line to denote the founding of the naumachia:

prima citae Teucris ponam certamina classis.⁶²

If it merely means that the boat-race takes place first, then it means very little. If it means the founding of the naumachia, then it means a great deal. One must bear in mind the naumachia of Augustus in the Nemus Caesarum near the temple of Fortuna, and also the devotion of the mercantile classes to the first princeps. No better example of this can be found than an incident narrated by Suetonius in his life of Augustus which occurred shortly before his death.⁶³

Virgil is never to be scanned so closely as when he seems to be manifestly imitating. He seems in this book to be imitating Homer and the description of the contests at the funeral of Patroclus. He was never farther from Homer and never more thoroughly Roman. He is throwing back into antiquity the popular association of Fortune with the Caesars; he is throwing back into antiquity the popular association of Fortuna with the Roman state; he is giving to the plebeians, who were the most enthusiastic supporters of Augustus and the new order, a place and a part in his great epic. He is endeavoring to set up an association in their minds between the founder of the Julian gens and their favorite goddess, Fortuna. He is trying to gain for their annual festival the glamor of immemorial age. He is not unaware that the plebeians had a religious experience of their own quite apart from the patricians with their frigid *ius divinum*. He is not unaware that Fortune is consecrated in more shrines and temples in Rome than any god in heaven, not even excepting Jupiter. Perhaps he was not unaware that one

⁵⁹ 59-60.

⁶⁰ 70.

⁶¹ Vita 98.

⁶² 62-63.

⁶³ 66.

of her temples was for a century the largest and most magnificent in the capital.³³

It now remains to interpret the fifth book as a subjective experience of Aeneas. Departing from Africa he was sure of but one thing, that he must at all costs escape. He sailed, not with sealed orders, but with no orders at all. He was out of touch with his divine parent and was ignorant of his apotheosis. He had but vague instructions for the visit to the Sibyl³⁴ and no vision of the future of the kingdom he was to found. It was but natural that he should accept the first guidance that offered and consent to the leading of Fortuna. If he should visit the tomb of his father and solicit oracles by means of sacrifices, where would he be more likely to receive them? We take the following lines to be a litotes expressing this hope and expectation:

Nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis
haud equidem sine mente reor, sine numine divom,
adsumus et portus delati intramus amicos.³⁵

To discover the plan and intention of the gods he begins a tentative sacrifice with wine, milk, and blood, as if to the *Di Manes*.³⁶ The appearance of the serpent amazes him and raises the welcome doubt whether it is merely the genius of the place or the famulus of his deceased parent. Adopting the latter assumption he changes the character of the sacrifice (instaurat) and slays three pairs of major victims as if to a nether god.³⁷ These were calculated to elicit omens, which was his real desire, and this desire was not frustrated, as will be made plain in the sequel.

The revelation does not come at once, it comes step by step. Yet Aeneas is encouraged and for the first time claims his birth-right and discharges the functions of a paterfamilias and a Roman magistrate. He is now regularly called pater Aeneas,³⁸ which he never was once called at Carthage in the Latin sense. He is surrounded by a great host of friends and clients like a

³³ Temple of Fortuna Equestris in Circus Flaminius dedicated 173. No finer temple was built until the time of Augustus. Livy xlii, 3.

³⁴ iii, 441 ff.

³⁵ v, 55-7.

³⁶ 77-8.

³⁷ 95-6.

³⁸ Pater Aeneas vs. 130, 348, 368, 424, 461, 545, 700, and 867.

popular consul.³⁹ He gives the signal for the trumpeter to announce the beginning of the games just as at Rome.⁴⁰ He has a tribunal in the Circus just like Caesar.⁴¹ The weather continues fair and the contests are drawing to their close when the random arrow of Acestes takes fire and spends itself in flames.⁴² This is an answer from the sacrifice and Aeneas feels exalted as never before.

Nec maximus omen / abnuat Aeneas.⁴³

Note the *maximus*. It is not otiose. It shows how Aeneas felt. Servius rightly takes the line for an example of litotes. "Aeneas, filled with pride, made haste to claim the omen," which was an augur's prerogative. These games are for Anchises. Therefore the omen must be his, especially since an omen was due to come. It is for this reason that he gives to Acestes a crater that had belonged to his father. He wished to pass the good luck on. It might be noted that Acestes himself was a child of Fortune since his mother had been cast adrift in a skiff to be carried *quo fors tulisset*,⁴⁴ and, by the way, we are not sure that the original meaning of *fors* is not "tide" or "drift," the incalculable element in navigation. Fors Fortuna would then mean something like *bon voyage*.

The correctness of the interpretation of the omen of the arrow depends upon an harmonious explanation of the following lines:

Hic oculis subitum obicitur magnoque futurum
augurio monstrum; docuit post exitus ingens
seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates.⁴⁵

Recalling to mind that Virgil in this book is throwing back into the legendary past the historical association of the Caesars with Fortuna, as we showed reason for believing, we may discern a parallel effort to throw back the divinity of the Caesars into that same past. We take *exitus ingens* to mean "the amazing sequel" and to signify primarily the comet that appeared after the death of Julius, though of course it connotes all the prodigies that the poets and historians relate. The seers, for whom

³⁹ 75.

⁴⁰ 290.

⁴¹ 530-1.

⁴² 522-4.

⁴³ 139.

⁴⁴ 525 f.

⁴⁵ Servius i, 550.

the poet never has a good word, who love to harrow up the souls of men, declared that Julius had become a god. They were too late. The remotest ancestor of the race had become a god. This is the larger half of the message of the fifth book.

To return to the arrow, it constitutes a second step in the reconciliation or atonement of Aeneas and his father's shade. The living son by means of proper sacrifices had made possible the approaches of the divine dead but is in ignorance of the fact that his father, having become a chthonic deity, finds it impossible to make close approaches by light of day.⁴⁶ Yet in the interval preceding midnight, when his father might appear, the religious experience of Aeneas is not halted. He prays to Jupiter to stay the fire among the ships, and this is the first time he prays.⁴⁷ During the storm he had merely complained.⁴⁸ He had never learned to pray so long as Anchises was alive. He may have intended to pray to his father's shade when he sacrificed but the emergence of the serpent interrupted his words and they were not afterwards resumed.⁴⁹ So now he is for the first time about to reach a proper relationship with heaven as with his divine kindred. With the coming of midnight his father's image appears and delivers the instructions which Aeneas had hoped for when he turned his course to Sicily under the lead of Fortune.⁵⁰ The revelation that his black victims were calculated to elicit was of necessity postponed till midnight.

Anchises having completely revealed himself through the vision of the night there remains for Aeneas but one act to complete the atonement. A circular tumulus in a spacious grove is built for his sanctified father and above it, on the summit of Mt. Eryx, is a temple of Idalian Venus, his mother.⁵¹ For the perpetuation of his father's worship a priest is ordained, which cannot fail to recall the flamen appointed for the deified Julius.⁵²

If we are upon the right trail then no book of the *Aeneid* is so thoroughly Roman, so genuinely religious, as the fifth; none

⁴⁶ 738 f.

⁴⁷ 1, 94 f.

⁴⁸ 721 f.

⁴⁹ Cicero's *Phil.* ii, 111.

⁵⁰ 687 f.

⁵¹ 80 f.

⁵² 759 f.

is so rich in sentiment, none touches so intimately the religious feelings of the common people of ancient Rome. It may be added that no other surpasses it in artistic merit, in the concealment of calculated art. If we have not discerned its worth, this is due to the mischievous tradition of Homeric imitation, to the mistaken notion that these are funeral games, and to our inability to sympathize with a religious experience that seems quite foreign to us.

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V.—GOETHE'S QUATRAIN "LIEGT DIR GESTERN
KLAR UND OFFEN" A PARAPHRASE
FROM MAUCROIX.

Few lines by Goethe are better known than the quatrain

Liegt dir Gestern klar und offen,
Wirkest du heute kräftig frei,
Kannst auch auf ein Morgen hoffen,
Das nicht minder glücklich sei.,

and it seems to have been a special favorite with Goethe himself. The verses were originally published in lithographed facsimile of the poet's manuscript, dated Nov. 7, 1825 (date of celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Goethe's coming to Weimar), under Bendixen's lithograph after Vogel von Vogelstein's portrait of Goethe,¹ and Goethe selected them to close Group IV of the *Zahme Xenien* in his final edition of his Works.² Not only did Goethe present various autograph transcripts to friends, but being, as is well known, much interested in the then new process of lithography,³ he even had lithographic facsimiles made, reading as follows:

Liegt dir *Gestern* klar und offen,
Wirkest du *Heute* kräftig treu;
Kannst auch auf ein Morgen hoffen,
Das nicht minder glücklich sey.

Johannis 1830.

J. W. Goethe.

and then sent one of these to his friend F. F. H. Küstner,

¹ Hamburg, 1826; cf. Bendixen's letter to Goethe, Dec. 6, 1825, and Goethe's reply, Dec. 19, in *Goethes Briefe* (Weimar ed.) XL, 419 and no. 161; also Hermann Rollett's *Die Goethe Bildnisse* (Vienna 1883), p. 196. The Weimar ed. (Werke III, 442) wrongly states that this portrait and facsimile appeared in *Goethes Goldener Jubeltag* (Weimar 1826); cf. Goethe-Jahrb. 1904 p. 254 and Gs Werke ed. Heine-mann II, 463.

² Ausgabe letzter Hand, IV, 337 (1827) of the 16mo issue; Weimar ed. III, 312.

³ I have a copy of Goethe's lithographic facsimile of the MS. of Byron's Dedication to him of *Sardanapalus*; cf. *Goethes Briefe* XXXVI, 208 and the editor's notes pp. 407-408.

consul-general for Saxe-Weimar in Leipzig, probably on Aug. 31, 1830, accompanied by other facsimiles including the lines:

Know'st thou *Yesterday*, its aim and reason,
Work'st thou well *Today* for worthy things,
Then calmly wait the *Morrows* hidden season,
And fear not thou what hap soe'er it brings.

June 1830.

J W v Goethe.

and

Chaque jour est un bien que du ciel je reçois,
Profitons aujourd'hui de celui qu'il nous donne;
Il n'appartient pas plus aux jeunes gens qu'à moi,
Et celui de demain n'appartient à personne.

ce 24 juin 1830.

J. W. Goethe.

These two "versions" in English and French were accordingly printed, with the original and the letter to Küstner, by the elder von Biedermann, with the comment: "Die beiden Uebersetzungen sind wahrscheinlich auch von Goethe, doch lässt es sich nicht als gewiss behaupten."⁴ Later von Biedermann claimed that these English and French versions should have been duly included in the Hempel edition of Goethe's Werke, but von Loeper replied⁵ that he considered it most improbable that Goethe could have written them. Years later von Loeper found the French verses written in a note-book of Goethe's followed there by the name "Maucroux" (also in Goethe's handwriting), which he took to prove that some "Maucroux"

⁴*Goethe und Leipzig*, 1865, II, 144. The three facsimiles mentioned passed into the possession of Rudolf Brockhaus, whose privately-printed posthumous Goethe-Festschrift "Zum 28. August 1899" includes a facsimile of his German MS. dated "1. Jan. 1830," and prints the English lines (*not* in facsimile), p. 63, more accurately than von Biedermann had done. My friend Mr. Wm. A. Speck, Curator of Classical German Literature in the Yale Univ. Library, has kindly lent me, from his wonderful collections, these two books, which I had not seen since 1912.

⁵Hempel ed. V, 231 (1872): "Wenn auch des Englischen und noch mehr des Französischen wie wenige Deutsche kundig, war er doch nicht in dem eminenten Grade Meister beider Sprachen, um so nebenher auch in ihnen dichten zu können"; cf. similarly Strehle's later and little-known ed. of *Goethes Gedichte* III, 504 (Werke III, Berlin, Ferd. Dümmler, undated but 1888; cf. G-Jahrb. 1889 p. 312) and also Düntzer's ed. (D. N. L.) III, 1, 231.

had written them, but he did not deny that they were translated from Goethe. Describing this note-book at length, von Loeper says (G-Jahrb. 1890, p. 141): ‘. . . französische Excerpte des Jahres 1828 . . . Darunter auch die Strophe, welche man wohl Goethe selbst als Uebersetzung von: “Liegt dir Gestern klar und offen” zugeschrieben hat, mit Angabe des Dichters: *Maucroux*.’ Von L. then prints the lines as above, except: *reçois*. He himself had previously (1872) called the French lines “die französische Uebersetzung.” Even the late Prof. Carl Schüddekopf and Prof. H. G. Gräf, both editors of the Weimar edition of Goethe and most careful and competent authorities in such matters, expressly refer to the 1890 passage just quoted, and still consider the lines by “Maucroux” or “Maucroix” as a mere “Uebersetzung oder Paraphrase.”*

Some seventeen years ago I found that the English version quoted above was taken by Goethe from the beginning of Carlyle’s essay “Signs of the Times” as it appeared anonymously in the *Edinburgh Review* for June 1829.⁷

Thus the matter of these two English and French verses was generally considered as finally settled, except that there may have been some slight curiosity as to the personality of this “Maucroux” and the circumstances of his translating Goethe’s lines into French.

However, several years ago bibliographical curiosity led me to examine Louis Paris’s edition of the *Oeuvres Diverses* (Paris 1854, 2 vols.) of François de Maucroix (1619-1708), the friend of La Fontaine, and then of course I found at once that the so-called translation from Goethe was in fact written by Maucroix half a century before Goethe was born. Though a Canon of the Cathedral of Reims, Maucroix is more appropriately described, by Sainte-Beuve, as “un disciple d’Horace”; for the publication of the *Historiettes* of his friend and confidant Tallemant des Réaux unexpectedly showed him to have been far

*Cf. Schüddekopf in *Gs Briefe L*, 188 (Weimar 1912), and Gräf’s most conscientious and elaborate standard work *Goethe über seine Dichtungen IX*, 791, 800 and index (Frankfurt 1914).

⁷Cf. G-Jb. 1904, p. 236 and Corresp. betw. G. and Carlyle, p. 118, and *Athenaeum* (London) Aug. 10, 1912, p. 142. C. altered the text when reprinting the essay. Cf. C.’s letter, Nov. 23, 1869, to Sir Chas. Murray (Memoir of M. by Sir Herbert Maxwell, 1898, p. 76).

more human and less ascetic than had been supposed for two centuries.⁸

According to the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (as late as 1861), Maucroix wrote our quatrain at the age of 89, but probably this is merely an unconscious and illogical deduction from the fact that at the time of writing these lines he was over 80 and the further fact that he died at 89. Paris's standard text reads as follows:⁹

LV.

Quatrain

fait à l'âge de plus de 80 ans.

1700.

Chaque jour est un bien du ciel que je reçois,
Je jouis aujourd'hui de celui qu'il me donne;
Il n'appartient pas plus aux jeunes gens qu'à moi,
Et celui de demain n'appartient à personne.

Paris adds the following foot-note: "Ce quatrain nous a été conservé par Voltaire, qui le cite dans son *Siècle de Louis XIV*, à l'article de Maucroix. On l'a réimprimé à tort comme inédit dans l'*Almanach des Muses de 1775*, p. 68." But the *Almanach* did not in fact claim that the verses were still unpublished.¹⁰

Most probably Goethe read the quatrain in the alphabetical list of Writers, &c. in Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV*, though it is not now possible to ascertain just when he first and last read them there, since his references to Voltaire are literally legion. The passage in Voltaire¹¹ is brief:

⁸ *Historiettes de Tallemant des Réaux* 3rd ed. VII, 200-211 (Paris 1858) and *passim*.

⁹ *Oeuvres Diverses de Fr. de Maucroix* (Paris 1854) I, 216; cf. I, cccxii. Sainte-Beuve's review is in *Causeries* X (also in Saintsbury's selection from the *Causeries*, Oxford 1894); he had quoted the quatrain once before in V (from Sieyès). The quatrain is also in *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* XXXIV, 343 (1861) and in Larousse's *Grand Dict. Univers.* X, 1354; also in Ramage's *Beautiful Thoughts from French and Italian Authors*, Liverpool 1875 (and possibly in 1st ed. 1866).

¹⁰ *Almanach des Muses*, 1775, Paris, p. 68: "Vers / Faits à l'âge de quatre-vingt ans. / Chaque jour est un bien que du Ciel je reçois; / je jouis aujourd'hui de celui qu'il me donne: / il n'appartient pas plus aux jeunes-gens qu'à moi, / & celui de demain n'appartient à personne. / Par feu l'Abbé de Maucroix./"

¹¹ *Oeuvres*, Kehl ed. 1785, vol. 20 of the 8vo issue, vol. 22, 12mo; cf. ed. Beuchot XIX, 157, ed. Moland XIV, 102, also e. g. XIX, 141 (1821). These verses do not yet appear in the note on Maucroix in

"*Maucroix*, (François) Né à Noyon, en 1619, historien, poëte, et littérateur. On a retenu quelques-uns de ses vers, tels que ceux-ci, qu'il fit à l'âge de plus de 80 ans:

Chaque jour est un bien que du Ciel je reçois;
Jouissons aujourd'hui de celui qu'il nous donne.
Il n'appartient pas plus aux jeunes gens qu'à moi;
Et celui de demain n'appartient à personne.

Mort en 1708."

Thus it is at last clear that the French lines, which even the very best and latest authorities on Goethe still continue to treat as evidently a mere translation, are in reality the *original*, of which Goethe's well-known and oft-quoted quatrain turns out to be after all only a masterly paraphrase.

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the 1763 ed. of Voltaire (Essay sur L'Hist. Univ. ch. XLI) but they may have been added in 1769 or 1775.

Possibly Maucroix's lines in question are included also in "Nouvelles Oeuvres Diverses de J. de La Fontaine et Poésies de F. de Maucroix, accompagnées d'une vie de F. de Maucroix, de notes et d'éclaircissements, par C. A. Walckenaër, Paris, A. Nepveu, 1820," 8vo, pp. xvi, 335, 2 leaves, cited in Comte de Rochambeau, Bibliographie des Oeuvres de La Fontaine, P. 1911, p. 627 (and Bibliographie de la France, Nov. 11, 1820, no. 4012). I have not yet seen this volume.

Perhaps Goethe wrote Maucroix's lines in his note-book (!1828!) from memory—which would explain: "Maucroux" and "Profitons." An undated memorandum addressed to his daughter-in-law, printed in 1912 (Gs Briefe L, 113) reads: [An Ottilie] "Mit Bitte um die ersten Zeilen / Il n'appartient pas plus aux jeunes qu'à moi, / Et celui de demain n'appartient à personne." For the copy of Maucroix's lines which Goethe handed to Quetelet in 1829, see Gs Gespräche, Gesamtausgabe, IV, 160 (Leipzig 1910) or Q.'s Sciences, &c. 1866.

In connection with the above instance of "Original und Nachbildung," I may add here that I have at last succeeded in identifying the original of Goethe's poem "Hochländisch," hitherto often sought in vain. A full account of this will appear later.

REPORTS.

HERMES LIV (1919), 3 and 4.

Eine Pythagoreische Urkunde des IV. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (225-248). M. Wellmann prints and discusses the anonymous excerpt (in Diog. L. VIII, 25 f.) of an eclectic Pythagorean, which Zeller (III 2^a p. 103 f.) assigned to the II century B. C. The author must have been a follower of Philolaus, and a contemporary of Plato, who used him as a source. It may have been the Pythagorean philosopher Xenophilus.

Plotin oder Numenius? II (249-278). Fr. Thedinga (cf. Hermes LII, 1917, 592 ff.) translates Plotinus I, 8 (*πότεν τὰ κακά*) and concludes from the inconsistencies and diffuse style in chapters 6, 8, 10-15 that these were added by Porphyrius from Numenius' book concerning The Good.

Die spartanische Agrarwirtschaft (279-294). U. Kahrstedt, from the statements of the ancients as to the 82 medimni of barley, paid as a yearly tribute by the Helots, the 9000 *κλήροι*, and the contributions at the *syssitia* (cf. Plut. Lyc. 8; 12; Paus. IV, 14, 4, etc.) develops by means of assumptions and ingenious computations a realistic picture of the Spartan agrarian system and the oppression of the Helots. Instructive analogies are cited, viz. from the early hide system of Germany and Poland. The early leadership of Sparta in music, sculpture and ceramics indicates an early development of her agriculture, say in the VII century B. C. This agrarian development caused the impoverishment and slavery of the peasant class. The Spartan city-state was economically what Athens would have been without Solon. This Helotizing of Spartan peasants was later than the conquest of Messenia; but here too conditions became more onerous as time went on. The name Helots means 'the captured men,' which explains their legal status; they were virtually slaves. Helotism resulted from a gradual development in which economic and political forces were both at work.

Zur Geschichte des Krateros (295-300). R. Laqueur harmonizes Diodorus' statement (XVIII, 2, 4) that Alexander made Perdikkas *ἐπιμελητὴν τῆς βασιλείας* with Photius' extract from Arrian Diad. 3, according to which Craterus was made *προστάτης τῆς Ἀρριδαίου βασιλείας*. For *προστάτης* must be an error of Photius who misunderstood Arrian's use of *προστασίαν* as shown by Dexippus' extract from Arrian (F. H. G. III 668): *τὴν δὲ κηδεμονίαν καὶ ὅσην προστασία τῆς βασιλείας Κράτερος ἐπετρέπη,*

ὁ δὲ πρῶτιστον τιμῆς τέλος παρὰ Μακεδόσιν, where *προστασία* means outward show, display (cf. Polybius [B.-W.] I, 55, 8; IV, 2, 6; 48, 12; XXI, 34, 10; XXVII, 15, 4.). Hence Perdiccas had the power, but Craterus the pomp of royalty, by which arrangement Alexander must have aimed to preserve the royal succession in his own family. This throws light on Perdiccas' assuming not only the power, but also τὴν τῶν βασιλείων (not βασιλέων) *προστασίαν* (Diod. XVIII, 23, 2-3), which naturally aroused the opposition of Craterus.

Zwei Lieder des "Agamemnon" (301-320). W. Kranz notes the relation of the anapaestic address of the Coryphaeus v. 40-103, to the long choral ode v. 104-257, and the tripartite character of the latter in rhythm, style and content: 104-159 (1½ pairs of strophes, chiefly dactylic); 160-191 (2, trochaic-dactylic); 192-257 (3, iambic). A careful analysis reveals the development of Aeschylus' thought until it reaches the horrible climax of Iphigenia's sacrifice, where familiarity with famous paintings lends beauty to his description. In spite of the formal distinctions Aeschylus' thoughts flow in a continuous stream, unhampered by the divisions, as is the case in later tragedies. The legends embodied in the Orestia are full of antinomies: The expedition against Troy was just, but Agamemnon did wrong in waging war for a woman; Artemis demanded a sacrifice, but the father sinned in giving up his daughter; the spirit of vengeance brooded over the palace of the Atridae, but this did not justify Clytemnestra; Orestes committed a heinous crime in murdering his mother, yet he obeyed Apollo. The conscience of Aeschylus rebels at these legends, but he knows that Apollo is Διὸς προφήτης (Eum. 19), and seeks consolation in submitting to the will of Zeus. The praise of his triumph is the sum of human wisdom (Agam. 174/5). Clytemnestra does not really appear until v. 257 f. An analysis of v. 1407-1576 shows that modern editors err in printing 1455 ff. and 1536 ff. as refrains. According to the MSS only ὦ ὦ βασιλεῦ ff. (1488 ff.) is thus repeated. Aeschylus has given this scene, where Clytemnestra after the murder faces the chorus, an epirrhematic form, which illustrates primitive tragedy where a reciting actor conversed with a singing chorus. K. develops this idea.

Miscellen: K. Münscher (321-327) considers Dem. XXXVIII, 21/2 an interpolation of a marginal note to XXXVII; he objects to Thalheim's emendation of XXXVIII, 12 δι' αὐτοῦ to δι' ἐκείνου, the meaning of δι' αὐτοῦ approaching that of ἐκόν; in [Dem.] XLII, 1 he accepts Thalheim's φθίνοντος (anticipated in Didot's ed. 1843), but places it after μνηρός; gives reasons against Thalheim's emendation of [Dem.] XLIII, 41 and advises the revisers of Dem. text to use the older editions of Voemel and Sauppe. Conjectures in the text of De-

mosthenes are rarely successful like the $\sigma\delta$ of Wilamowitz (Dem. XVIII, 13) in Hermes LIV, p. 66.—†H. Blümner (328-329) objects to Robert's transposition of v. 567 in Sen. Herc. Fur. (cf. A. J. P. XL, p. 217), as a telum tergemina cuspidē in Pluto's hands agrees with archaeological evidence.—F. Hiller v. Gaertringen (329-332) commends the emendation and combination of IG I Suppl. p. 41, 373 b and p. 79, 373¹ which Lolling made (*Κατάλογος τοῦ ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἐπιγραφικοῦ Μουσείου*, ed. Wolters 1899) and obtains the following dedicatory inscription:

[ἐσθλὸν] τοῖσι σοφοῖσι σο[φ]ίζεσθ[αι κ]ατ[ὰ] τέχην.
[ὅς γάρ] ἡέχαι τέχνην, λῶ[ο]ν' ἡέχ[αι] βίον.
[— — ἀνέθεκ]ε Ἀθηναῖαι δεκάτ[ην].

The *τέχνη* was probably that of a handicraftsman; but the range of possibilities includes not only the sculptor, potter, fisherman etc., but also one whose *σοφία* was his *τέχνη* as in the case of a physician, and a century later might have included the sophist or rhetor.—Th. Thalheim discusses some of the questions pertaining to the rule of the four hundred and the value of Arist. Pol. 30 and 31, which he thinks were derived from Androton, who garbled the records in order to shield his father Andron, who had been a member of that aristocratic body (cf. A. J. P. XXXIX, p. 216).

Hannibals Alpenübergang (337-386). O. Viedebant analyses Polybius and Livy, and with Nepos Han. 3, and passages from Ammianus Marc., Silius Italicus, Strabo etc., finds an original Carthaginian account a), a falsified Roman version b), and a contamination of a and b, possibly by Postumius. Both Polybius and Livy depended on these versions. According to a) Hannibal crossed the Rhone north of the Durance, proceeded north to the 'island,' then along the Isère to the Alps, and crossed the Little St. Bernard into the territory of the Insubres. According to b) Hannibal crossed the Rhone south of the Durance following the famous Genève road: Nîmes (Nemausus)—Tarascon (Tarusco)—ford Cavaillon (Cavalio)—Briançon (Brigantio) etc., on this, the only road crossing the Alps north of the coast, he proceeded east to Cavaillon, where the news of the proximity of the Romans caused him to leave this road and take a northerly course to the Isère and then as in a) over the Little St. Bernard. Livy shows that a and b had been contaminated, for having followed the a) version to the 'island,' he now lets Hannibal take a course that brought him to the upper Durance, evidently with the purpose of having him cross the Genève into the country of the Taurini. But the description of the turbulent river, the open country, and the statement (XXI, 31, 9 f.): *sed ad laevam in*

Tricastinos flexit; inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios haud usquam inpedita via, show that we have here a second itinerary starting from the lower Druentia on the way north. Numerous points are made by V. although some of his statements are open to question. Emphasis is laid on the provisions made by Hannibal to insure the success of his great undertaking. His subjugation of the Taurini was necessary in order to control the Genève pass, over which Hasdrubal was to come, and it seems probable that his reduced force was due partly to his leaving detachments to guard the passes of the Alps and the Pyrenees.

Bedeutung und Geschichte des Verbums *cēvère* (Mit zwei Exkursen über Verwandtes) (387-408). J. Mussehl discusses in a sane matter-of-fact way some of the technical vulgarisms current in popular speech, which emerged in the Pompeian graffiti, Juvenal, Martial, Persius. *Cēvère* in Persius 1, 87 is correctly explained by a scholion, perhaps 200 A. D. But the meaning of this word was soon forgotten as shown by the glosses *inclinare* (*inclinari*), which have misled the editors of the Thes. L. L., not however Georges and Harper (cf. *criso*). The Plautus text given by Nonius 84, 17: *si conquiniscet istic, ceveto simul*, shows that someone after 200 A. D. took the meaning to be equivalent to *inclinari*. This should warn against the Plautus variants in Nonius. The history of the adverbs *ceventinabiliter*, *inclinabiliter* etc. is similar. Adverbs in *-abiliter* were rooted in popular speech, and while they were common in the older period, they were avoided in the I century B. C., until their revival by the archaising writers of the II century A. D. Lucretius in IV, 660, III, 907, VI, 1176 was probably using archaic speech intentionally (cf. Merrill). An excursus on *futuere* and another on *arrurabiliter* are added.

Die sogenannte Appendix Probi (409-422). K. Barwick shows in detail the agreement of the appendix with the *instituta artium* of the late Probus, not merely in matter, but in style, and concludes that it represents the remnants of a systematic work of the same author, whose date is determined by the addition of *Diocletianae* and *thermae* to *Roma*, *Tiberis* and *urbs*, *flumen* (resp. in an illustration of proper and common nouns (inst. art. 119. 25), which B. shows was a stock illustration. These additions were evidently made as a compliment to Diocletian, a common practice. The *thermae* of Diocletian were dedicated between May 1, 305 A. D. and July 24, 306 A. D. Probus' home was in Africa, as shown by the examples *Cirtae* and *Uticae* (cf. Fr. Stolz, Hist. Gram. I, p. 59).

Die Begriffe ΠΥΠΡΟΣ und ΣΤΕΡΗ bei der Hausanlage (423-432). Fr. Preisigke publishes a Strassburg papyrus (No. 352) of III century B. C., which records the payment of a tax on the purchase of a *στέρη δυνείρα* on the third *πύργος* of a building

ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ. He discusses in detail such partial ownership, and shows that πύργος, of which there were three in this case, was not a tower, but a strongly built wing. The στέγη δευτέρα was the third story. The article is full of interesting information.

Miscellen: G. Helmreich (433-438) shows the value of a Munich MS for the text of the cook-book, known as Apicius, and the inadequacy of Schuch's edition (Heidelberg 1874).—Ludwig Deubner (438-441) combines Migne XXXVII, p. 656 with p. 723 and completes an iambic satire of Kerkidas. Wilamowitz (Berl. Sitzungsab. 1918, 1152) had assigned p. 656 to Gregory of Nazianzus.—M. Pohlenz (442) reads ἐμμίχιον for ἐννύχιον in a line of Callimachus (cf. Rh. Mus. LXXII, p. 473).—Th. Thalheim (443-445) emends the text of Demosthenes in [Dem.] XLIV, 12 f., Dem. LVII, 9, Dem. LVIII, 10; 21; 29; 56.

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PHILOLOGUS LXXV (N. F. xxix), Heft 3. 4.

Pp. 245-246. Otto Crusius (Obituary notice). On Dec. 29, 1918 Otto Crusius, for thirty years editor of Philologus, suddenly passed away. An appreciation of his work as professor in the University of Munich and as a scholar of the first rank in many fields of classical philology is contributed by A. Rehm.

Pp. 247-273. G. A. Gerhard†, Satura und Satyroi. These two words, one pure Latin, the other Greek, happened to sound alike and in course of time came to be used to describe literary productions in some respects similar. By the beginning of the Christian era the Romans found it convenient to use the pure Greek loan-words, satyricus and satyrographus, in connection with their native satura. Satiricus and satirographus are not hybrids from satura (with itacism). They first appear not, as Marx thought, in the Byzantine epoch, but in the time of Petronius as the title of his work shows. Satyra for satura was common among the half-educated and later became the rule, so that Probus could even derive satura from Σάτυροι.

Pp. 274-303. J. Friedrich, Das Attische im Munde von Ausländern bei Aristophanes. Thesmophor. 1001-1007, 1083-1135, 1176-1201, 1210-1225; Acharn. 104; Birds, 1678-79 are printed with critical apparatus and textual notes. On pp. 282-296 there is a study of the phonology, morphology and syntax of these passages, and on pp. 297-301 follow a text, reconstructed on the basis of the preceding study, and a transcription into "high Attic." Aristophanes seems to have reported the barbarian idiom from personal observation. Solecisms, such as he

records, must have been common among foreigners at Athens in his day. Sometimes in these passages Thracian-Illyrian peculiarities may be detected, but at the same time Aristophanes appears also to imitate the native Attic popular speech. An Appendix (pp. 301-303) contains the Greek of the barbarian in Timotheos' *Persians*, 162-173. An examination shows almost entirely a series of Asiatic-Ionic vulgar forms. However, they do not affect the barbarian's whole speech, as in Aristophanes, but he uses in general the poetic elevated speech with a sprinkling of single popular forms. Timotheos is not treading the realistic ground of comedy but uses the exalted tones of the dithyramb.

Pp. 304-322. C. Ritter, *Platons Logik*. (Conclusion of the article begun in pp. 1-67). 9. The procedure in drawing conclusions: (A) the fundamental propositions or axioms on which conclusions rest; (B) conclusions from analogies; (C) proof by hypotheses. A. From the law of identity are derived certain axioms which belong partly to pure mathematics, partly to mathematics applied to physics. They are found in Theaetetus 155 a, Parmenides 154 b, and Timaios 82 b: nothing can increase or decrease in mass or number, so long as it remains equal to itself; if nothing be added to or subtracted from a thing, it remains equal to itself; i. e., expressed algebraically, $a + 0 = a$. If equal quantities are added to unequal quantities, their difference always remains the same $(a - b) = (a + c) - (b + c)$; but the addition and subtraction must proceed in exactly the same sense and magnitude. B. Plato made frequent use of inference based on analogy, but was aware that such reasoning required caution (Phaedon 92 d, Theaet. 162 e). It is to be used only as a heuristic principle, looking towards the establishment of a hypothesis still to be proved. C. The hypothetical discussion (apagogic proof and the developing of antinomies, Menon 89 c, Phaedon 100 f., Sophistes 237 ff.). A hypothesis affirmed and denied gives, in contradictory opposition, two possibilities of which one must be true. 10. The hypothesis must be based ultimately upon some self-evident and universally admitted truth (*ἰκανόν*). Plato finds this ultimate in his "ideas," Theait. 153 c ff., Tim. 51 c, Parmen. 135 c.).

Pp. 323-363. H. Meyer, *Das Vererbungsproblem bei Aristoteles*. Among the problems in which both physicians and natural philosophers, even before Aristotle, were interested, was that of heredity, which Aristotle treated with his peculiar carefulness in his work *περί ζῴων γενέσεως*. The questions especially investigated were what determines sex and how the likeness borne by children to their parents and remoter ancestors is to

be explained. Aristotle bases his solution on the peculiar functions of male and female in generation; he refers to the well-known proposition of his natural philosophy that everything that comes into being arises from its contrary; and if during the formative process a change into the contrary takes place, then that which is not mastered by the formative power must necessarily change into the contrary (de gen. animal. I. 766 a 14-16). If the male or active principle possesses sufficient warmth to overpower the female element, then it produces male sex; otherwise, the reverse. A father is at one and the same time a man and also an individual, like Socrates. So that the activity of the begetter as such is exercised in different directions, as male, as species, as individual. The predominance of any of the factors which are inherent in the male principle determines the type, although the likeness resulting may be only partial. As to the inheritance of the moral and intellectual faculties of the soul, even before Aristotle, Theognis (Eleg. I 183-192) and Plato (Rep. 458 b-461 b) recommended the more careful and "eugenic" mating of parents and the proper care of the mother during the period of maternity. The interest in the problems of heredity did not flag after Aristotle but was much in evidence among the Stoics, Epicureans, and Neoplatonists. The Stoics influenced Tertullian, Gregory of Nyssa and even Origen.

Pp. 364-383. Fr. Wilhelm, Zu Dion Chrys. Or. 30 (Charidemus). Charidemus is not a mere fiction, in spite of unmistakable idealization after the manner of Plato's dying Socrates. However, the speech put in his mouth (§§ 8-44,) shows clear signs of Dion's authorship, being a clever compliment to this promising pupil. The discourse is to be divided into three parts: I, §§ 10-24, the δυσχερέστατος . . . τῶν λόγων of the ἀνὴρ ἀγύρτης; II, §§ 26-27, the βελτίων . . . τοῦδε λόγος of the ἀνὴρ γεωργός; III, §§ 28-44, the ἐτέρα φῶς of the same person and, in the estimation of the Charidemus-Dion, the best λόγος. According to I, the cosmos is a jail in which we are the prisoners of the gods; according to II, it is a colony of the gods, in which we are first protégés of the gods, and then left to our own devices; according to III, it is a palace of the gods, in which we are their guests, lavishly entertained. Only in III are there Cynic elements, but in all three Poseidonios is the chief Stoic source (mainly his περὶ θεῶν, φυσικὸς λόγος, and περὶ κόσμου).

Pp. 384-394. W. Sander, Bemerkungen zu Ciceros de divinatione. A defence of the writer's positions taken in his dissertation, Quaestiones de Ciceronis libris quos scripsit de divinatione (Gottingae, 1908) against the criticisms of Heeringa in Philologus, LXVIII, 560 ff.

Pp. 395-413. F. Lammert, Die Angaben des Kirchenvaters Hieronymus über vulgäres Latein, nebst Bemerkungen über Hieronymus und die Glossen. From passages where Jerome uses *vulgo* (either "vulgar" or "in common use") to characterize words and phrases, the following are discussed: *amarus*, *Bactroperita*, *baia*, *boa*, *Bootes*, *Caesar*, *camisia*, *cantio*, *capitium*, *coxale*, *cubitus* (-um), *encoma*, *exterminare*, *flagellum* (= flail), *gustator* (= *parvus digitus*), *horrendus*, *ignarius* (*lapis*), *loricula*, *lubricus*, *magus* (= *maleficus*), *mapalia*, *mathematicus*, *millepeda*, *mare mortuum*, *murenula*, *nervus* (= genus tormenti), *palmus* (= *σπιθαμή* and *παλαιστή*), *parentalia* (= *περίδειπνα*), *parentes* (= *cognati et affines*), *patres* (used of one another by the monks in Palestine and Egypt), *polyphthongum* (= *psalterium*), *sabaium* (used in Dalmatia and Pannonia for *ζύθον*), *Saucomaria*, *scruta*, *spica*, *spelta*, *spina alba*, *tabanus*, *timoratus*, *titio*, *virgineus*. Jerome refers in the same way to Greek vulgarisms: *βάρης*, *ιμάντῳσις*, *κωφός*, *ποππίζων*. II. Jerome also apologizes for his use of: *digamus*, *trigamus*, *octogamus*, *peccantius peccatum*, *rectitudines*. He also criticizes certain persons for using such *portenta verborum* as: *annihilasti*, *annullasti*, *nullificasti*, *amaricaverunt*, *annullatio*, *annihilatio*, and certain pleonasms. III. The Hebrew glosses to the *Abavus* glossary of codd. Paris. lat. 7690 (a) and (in part) *Hauniensis bibl. univ.* 26 (c) go back to Jerome's commentary on *Isaiah*.

Pp. 414-436. R. Samter, Ἀλληλέγγνοι. Before the papyri afforded new data, the earliest instance of this word was in Justinian, *Novella* 99. We now may trace the word back through the Augustan era to the time of the Ptolemies. The possible meanings are: I (natural meanings) (1) debtors who mutually provide security for separate debts. (2) Joint debtors who mutually provide security for one and the same debt. II (far-fetched meanings) (3) Joint debtors (simply). (4) Joint givers of security for one and the same debt. Of these meanings (1) is found only for the case where there is but one creditor (in *Theophanes* and *Georgios Cedrenos*); (2) is the usual meaning in the Hellenistic commercial world in Egypt, and the case is described by *Papinian Dig.* 45, 2, 11: *reos promittendi vice mutua fideiussores non inutiliter accipi convenit*. This use continued till late into the Byzantine times. (3) On linguistic and factual grounds this meaning, generally accepted, is rejected, inasmuch as the last part of the word loses its force. (4) Here the first part of the word loses its full force. But this last meaning is that underlying the passage in *Nov. 99*. It was an infrequent meaning, else the law could not have been misunderstood by contemporaries. A lemma (to *Julian's epitome*) belonging to the seventh century shows that the meaning

persisted in the Byzantine legal circles. In Egyptian papyri 13 years before and 56 years after the issue of Nov. 99 we find the old use obtaining. That there should have been such ambiguities in the use of law terms is not to be laid to the blame of Byzantine decadence, for instances occur in classical Roman law (cf. Gaius, III 76).

Pp. 437-462. A. Bauer, Der Einfluss Lukians von Samosata auf Ulrich von Hutten. I. Analysis of Hutten's dialogues. Imitation of Lucian is shown by even a cursory examination of: Phalarismus, Arminius, Misaulus sive Aula, Febria I, II, Fortuna, Inspicientes, Bulla sive Bullicida, Monitor I, II, Praedones. But while Lucian mocks, Hutten fights; Lucian wishes to entertain, Hutten, to reform. In Lucian there is copious wit; in Hutten, passionate pathos. II. The influence of Lucian is shown in the following: (1) technique of the dialogue (dramatic; but in Monitor I, II, and Praedones it is dialectic in the Platonic manner; in Misaulus it is rhetorical and sophistical); (2) dramatic devices (scene, dramatis personae, characterization, number and grouping of the persons, division of scenes, agonistic matches, farcical and burlesque scenes disturbing the dramatic illusion, comedy of situation, gods treated as men, irony, parody, persiflage of ones' self.) The article will be concluded in a later volume.

Miscellen.: Pp. 463-465. 1. N. A. Bees (Βέης), Ueber eine Hesychglosse. The gloss on Βερβίνια shows that the modern Βέρβαινα is of neither Albanian nor Slavic origin, but goes back to the name of a branch of the ancient Arcadians.—2. Pp. 467-469. E. Stemplinger, Der Mimus in der horazischen Lyrik. Horace in his endeavor to extend the bounds of μέλος included the dramatic mime, in his time, the favorite department of literature: e. g., Od. III, 12; I, 27; III, 19; III, 10; Epode II; Od. I 28 (Archytas); III, 9. The most characteristic feature of these mimetic odes is the technique of handling action in monologue or dialogue, i. e., so as to dramatize the ode.—3. Pp. 469-473. H. Wegehaupt, Zur Ueberlieferung der pseudo-Aristotelischen Προβλήματα ἀνέκδοτα (ed. Didot IV. 291 ff.). Cod. Vossianus (at Leyden) misc. 16, a paper MS of the 15th century, contains on fol. 18r-fol. 25v some of the Problematika. The text of L is nearest to Matritensis 84 (wrongly cited as 94). A collation of L is given on pp. 471-473.—4. Pp. 473-474. L. Radermacher, Der Grammatiker Timachidas. That he was also cited as Timachos is shown by the form Τίμαρχος (in Schol. Eur. Med. 1, Athen. XI 501 e, Hesych. v. ἀμυσίς, and Harpocration s. v. Ἀργῆς) for Τίμαχος.—5. Pp. 475. L. Radermacher, Die Zeit des Antiquars Semos. Semos of Elis wrote in the Hellenistic period. That he used the κοινή is illustrated by his use of ἀν with the optative in general conditions.—

6. Pp. 476-482. K. Preisendanz, Zu Euenos von Askalon. The Epigrams in Anth. Pal. IX 62, 72, 122, 251, 602, 717, 718; XI 49; XII 172; XVI 165, 166, assigned in the lemmata to Euenos, are all shown to have been written by Euenos of Askalon. Jacobs had assumed five poets of the name; Christ, three; Hillscher, "poetae homonymi"; Reitzenstein, hardly more than two. Benndorf (de Anth. gr. epp. quae ad artem spectant, Bonn 1862, p. 18) had conjectured a single Euenos. A. P. VI 170 may possibly be by Euenos. IX 602 and 251 are interpreted at some length. The poet was familiar with popular superstition and used motives derived from it.—7. Pp. 482-484. K. Preisendanz, XOΩ in Pap. Lond. XLVI. Lines 70-95 contain a charm for the detection of thieves. The letters χοω are the result of a dittography at the end of the phrase γράψον εἰς τοῦχο combined with an ω which was the apex of one of two pyramids of vowels between which stands a picture of an eye.—8. Pp. 484-485. F. Walter, Zu Varro (de lingua Latina). Read: V 7, et initia egregiis; V 49, avaritia una praeest; VI 21, ideo coactum (i. e. cogere = coartare, Non. 55, 19); VII 12, bellum tueri et tueri villam (a similar chiasmus occurs in L. L. V 30); IX 53, tollunt ex se analogias.

Pp. 486-491. Indices.

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REVIEW.

Martial, the Epigrammatist, and other essays. By KIRBY FLOWER SMITH. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1920. 8 + 172 pp. 12°. \$2.00.

Kirby Smith, most lovable of companions and wise observer of life, approached antiquity as something human and alive. It was hard for him to relegate any period of history to the past. "Comparative Literature!" he exclaimed to a student of his in the American Academy in Rome, "There is no such thing. It is all one stream." The object of his wide and varied reading was to make friends among the men of old, to pull them out of their chronological corners and allow them their place in the world of today. He taught his hearers "*come l'uom s'eterna*" by showing that the immortality of the great makes them not unapproachable and antique but immediate and contemporary for those who can enter the society of the best. His avenue to scholarship was the rigid training of Johns Hopkins University; no work of his own was casual or unlaborious. The book through which his memory will chiefly live, his edition of Tibullus, gives evidence everywhere of that patient consideration of details and that ultimate view of the higher goal, that mark the true investigator. But beyond all that, he had caught from his master Gildersleeve, in a prepared and receptive soul, the relish of life and human sympathies; he might truly have said, with one of his ancient masters, *hominem pagina nostra sapit*.

It is well that Smith's colleague and successor, Professor Mustard, has assembled in a small but precious volume his occasional essays and addresses of a more general and popular character. These should not be dismissed by the professional scholar as his lighter and less significant achievements. The harder and higher aim,—the aim of most concern at the present moment—is to humanize our ancients; it is harder to transmit in some living form the spirit of Martial and Ovid and Propertius than to establish their texts, catalogue their metrical and linguistic traits, and determine the place of their poems in the development of literary types. These matters have their value, and Smith neglected none of them. But he has also left, in his teaching, in his conversations, and in the book before us, a memorial of mellowed judgment, witty observation and neat description, that make his ancients live.

The essay on Martial is appropriately given the first place,

for it is the best. Martial, whom Smith had read and read again, appears not the hack writer or the professional flatterer that most historians of Latin literature find him, but as a broad and cosmopolitan spirit and an honest critic of human life in all its aspects, high and low, that were revealed to his "keen and penetrating yet just and kindly eyes." The poet's faults are not denied, but they are "on the surface,—otherwise many critics would never have discovered them at all." We learn, from a display of statistics more profitable here than in most literary estimates, that the element of nastiness which generally bulks large in accounts of Martial is actually small. This we may see from the Delphin edition, which excludes only 150 epigrams out of 1555 as unfit for the Dauphin's eyes; even if we weigh as well as number and find in the acknowledged indecencies considerable weight, these figures are striking. Smith often reproduces Martial's pictures and his wit in pleasant verse, homespun in texture and adequate to the theme. For Ovid and Propertius, his use of the ballad measure is less happy; it fits neither the high melancholy of the one nor the high art of the other. Ovid is "first, last and always a rhetorician." If we may add incidentally that he was first, last and always a wit, one need not quarrel with this estimate; for though Ovid truly knew all the rules of the game, which he could play to excess and the exasperation of his critics, his chief delight was to treat the formulae with a gay fancy that often runs into delicate parody. But Smith was not blind to the wit of his favorite poet nor to his deeper moods of imagination and romance. Propertius he calls a modern lover with a modern self-consciousness, a "born self-tormentor." The drama of Propertius and Cynthia "was by turns an idyl, a Romantic comedy, a problem play, a comic opera, a tragedy, and finally a mystery," in which, for all the varied tortures of the poet's heart, the real lover is Cynthia,—few have read Propertius deeply enough to find these things in him.

The essays on the poets, which every reader will wish might have grown into a history of Latin literature, occupy about half of the volume. The latter half contains addresses, sensible and optimistic in tone, on "The Classics and our Vernacular," and "The Future Place of the Humanities in Education"; the latter paper, full of wise counsel for educators in our age of "reconstruction," was delivered only a few days before the writer's death. At the end of the book come the author's reminiscences of his boyhood in the town of his birth, two poems and a metrical translation of the *Copa*. An article on *Pupula Duplex* seems too technical for inclusion here, and not to call for republication without some consideration of Professor McDaniel's discussion of the same topic (C. P. xiii, 335 ff.). It might well have given place to the delightful "Recollections of an old Johns Hopkins

Student," published in the *Johns Hopkins Alumni Magazine*; this would have made a fitting companion-piece for the Vermonter's reminiscences of his native town. For these, at any rate we are grateful. The author looks back with Horace's affection on his birth-place, and makes it a part of the picture of life that he constructed from all periods of the past. The converse of his modernizing of the ancients is the discovery that the present is antique.

"The population is small. In character and habits it is in many ways surprisingly like that Italian population of small land-owners in the days of Republican Rome. Indeed, in a general way, there is no more characteristic Vermonter in ancient literature than Cato the Elder. The people are, of course, conservative, tenacious of their traditions and respecters of them. As a rule, there is a keen sense of the ludicrous, coupled with a faculty of instant repartee—doubtless fostered by the unremitting banter that goes on from morning till night in any and all of these small towns and is partly responsible for a certain piquancy of expression, an oddity of rhetorical figure, as unexpected as it is amusingly appropriate. At the same time there often appears in this temperament a distinct tendency to the imaginative, and even the mystic, as one might expect of men who live a life of comparative solitude in the solemn shadow of those eternal hills, whose forests and streams are hardly different from what they were in the days of Columbus."

Here speaks a humanist, who is not cramped by the limitations of time and place, but enriches the present with the past. The passage is autobiographical as well as descriptive; the traits that Kirby Smith finds in his townsmen were essentially his own. In part, his Vermont village created his temperament; in part, it is his temperament writ large.

E. K. RAND.

JÉRÔME CARCOPINO, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie*, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Vol. 116. Paris, E. de Boccard, 1919. Pp. x + 818.

This book, M. CARCOPINO's demonstration of conclusions which he announced to the Académie des Inscriptions in 1912, is a rare combination of detailed topographical study with an exhaustive investigation of an historical and religious problem. The outcome of years of work, prosecuted originally at the French school in Rome where the author published valuable papers on Ostia, the book was practically ready for publication when M. CARCOPINO was called to the service in 1914. To avoid further delay he has published it now without attempting to bring his bibliography up to date and without taking into

account the new discoveries at Ostia where excavations continued throughout the war.

The first of the five books into which the work is divided is an attempt to bring the tradition of the origin of Ostia into harmony with the lack of archaeological discoveries on the spot that can be dated before the fourth or early third century. Rejecting the supposed colonization of Ostia by Ancus Marcius, CARCOPINO would date the citizen colony at the port shortly after the fall of Antium in 338 when the prow of a ship appeared on Roman *aes grave*. It is interesting to note in this connection Professor Frank's recent suggestion (*Class. Phil.* 1919, 314 ff.) that the prow of a ship is to be associated not with the fall of Antium but with the establishment of the colony at Ostia about twenty years earlier. Before the colony there was, CARCOPINO believes, a settlement to the east of Roman Ostia on the site of an ancient religious centre. A survival of the cult of this community is to be found in the peculiar religious titles of Ostia, *pontifex Volcani et aedium sacrarum, praetor* and *aedilis sacris Volcani faciundis, sodalis Arulesis*. In the last-named title Carcopino finds a survival of an early place-name Arula which he would identify with the "Ostie préostienne." In spite of the evidence of *Ephem. Epig.* IX, 448 that an aedile of Vulcan was elected by the municipal senate, CARCOPINO believes that these titles represent official Roman priests appointed by the Pontifex Maximus of Rome. Against this belief conclusive reasons are furnished by Wissowa in *Hermes* 1915, 5 ff., an article which CARCOPINO knows only from a summary. These priests of Vulcan are, the author thinks, to be associated with Roman state sacrifices known—on evidence of very unequal value—to have taken place at Ostia. All these sacrifices are, with some violence to the tradition in the case of the *ludi Castorum*, dated by CARCOPINO in the month of August and connected with the *Volcanalia*. The Vulcan of Ostia, identical with the Cretan Γελχάνος and the hypothetical Etruscan Velthans, was an all-pervasive Mediterranean sun-god. He was also the god of rivers and especially of the Tiber. With him was worshipped a goddess of fertility, Maia or Juno, variously identified with Terra Mater, the Mater Larum, Ops Opifera, the Great Mother of the Gods. Finally the tradition of the founding of Ostia by Ancus Marcius is explained by supposing that Rome under Sabine domination conquered the mouth of the Tiber in the fifth century and, while maintaining the native cults on the spot, also imported to Rome the chief gods of the conquered region.

The second book, on Lavinium, is the most significant and convincing part of the study. Although the existence of a city Laurentum has been questioned by Zumpt, Dessau, and lately by Wissowa (*Hermes*, l. c.), the city of Latinus is generally

believed to have been called Laurentum. Yet such a city is not mentioned in inscriptions and cannot be located topographically; in literature is it unknown before the Empire and is found then only in a few cases either as an equivalent of Lavinium, or as a general name for the region, or as a designation of the well-known imperial villa. From the early tradition which, while giving no name to the original city of King Latinus and his people the Laurentes, still makes Lavinium the city that Aeneas founded on his arrival in Italy, there is a departure in the Aeneid. Vergil recognizes Lavinium as the city in which Latinus and the Laurentes already lived before the arrival of Aeneas in Italy. But in order to avoid useless polemics the poet does not mention the city of Latinus by name either as Laurentum (*Laurenti* in *Aen.* VIII, 1 and 38 is an adjective) or as Lavinium. He refers to it always by some paraphrase. In a valuable topographical commentary CARCOPINO shows that the allusions to the city of Latinus accord perfectly with Pratica, the unquestioned site of Lavinium. Of great interest is the identification of the oracle of the Albunea in VII, 83 with the so-called Zolfoforata on the Via Ardeatina.

The third book deals with the city that Aeneas did found, which is none other than the camp at the mouth of the river for which the tradition attests the name Troia. This camp is a genuine city referred to in five passages as *urbs*. Its inhabitants are *cives*. That it is the new Troy so long foretold is shown by the fact that here occur the eating of the tables and the appearance of the white sow, the two omens that were to indicate the end of the Trojans' wanderings and the site of the future city. In another important topographical section CARCOPINO discusses the references in the Aeneid to the region about Ostia. Of particular significance is the identification of the Numicius with the Canale dello Stagno. The ancient city lay, he believes, northeast of modern Ostia at the ancient bend of the river. Here were the *Atria Tiberina* (Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 329 ff.) the site where in 204 the procession carrying Cybele's stone halted for the night on the way to Rome; here too was the temple of Vulcan, the great god of the city, who was none other than the *deus ipse loci* . . . *Tiberinus* (VIII, 31). This is the key to the interpretation of the much-discussed line, (VIII, 65) *Hic mihi magna domus, celsis caput urbibus exit.*

It is with this great divinity, whom Vergil calls Thybris, that the fourth book is concerned. The form Thybris is not a simple poetic variant for Tiberis, but an earlier name for the river taken from a giant king (*Aen.* VIII, 331). Prior to the Aeneid the word does not occur in Latin poetry even in the works of Vergil; in the Aeneid it is found seventeen times, while Tiberis occurs only once and Tiberinus only eight times. (The explanation of the single case of Tiberis in VII, 715 as a local Sabine

name for the river is improbable.) The god Thybris is not the Pater Tiberinus of imperial inscriptions but a far greater god, brought to Italy by the Etruscans, a deity who unites the powers of Jupiter and Mars. He is the god to whom Pallas vows his spoils and to whom Aeneas dedicates the spoils of Mezentius. But the attempt to connect with his cult and with that of the goddess who was worshipped with him the eating of the tables and the sacrifice of the pregnant sow is far from convincing.

In the last book CARCOPINO discusses Vergil's reasons for departing from the established tradition. A special motive for attributing great antiquity and prestige to Ostia lay in the fact that Augustus like Julius Caesar planned to build a harbor there. Ostia was moreover particularly suited to be the mother city of Rome, for there Vergil found the cult of a great and all-embracing god, and a site fitted by nature to become a second Troy. "Ensuite, grâce à cette Troie élevée près du *fluvius Thybris*, équivalent latin du Xanthos et du Thymbris de Phrygie, non seulement il effaçait toute contradiction entre son poème et la prophétie d'Homère sur Enée qui règnera sur Troie, mais il semblait faire sortir l'Enéide de l'Iliade en vertu d'une espèce de préfiguration mystique" (p. vii).

The book is provided with a sketch-plan of the excavations of Ostia and an excellent map on which are indicated all of CARCOPINO's identifications. The lack of a general index to make accessible the great mass of material is greatly to be regretted, for not many will find time to read through the eight hundred pages in which M. CARCOPINO has expounded his thesis. The diffuseness of the author's style is a very serious defect of his presentation.

It is impossible in this summary to do justice to CARCOPINO's careful argument. Although few will accept his thesis in its entirety his book is of great significance both as a commentary on the Aeneid and as a study of religious origins. The topographical sections are invaluable for the last half of the Aeneid and the discussions of Vergilian usage and interpretation are important. On the text of the Aeneid one notes for instance the defence of the reading *rumone* in VIII, 90, and of *Thybrina* in XII, 35. In the composition of the Aeneid CARCOPINO has pointed out much that is new—the absence of a city Laurentum, the probable existence of Lavinium before Aeneas's arrival, the permanent character of the camp that is also *urbs* at the mouth of the Tiber. On the religious side he has furnished a possible explanation for the origin of the obscure priests of Ostia, though here one could wish that he had discussed in more detail the exact meaning of the titles. His tendency often is to push his conclusions too far. His Vulcan, though exaggerated in importance, is a more probable figure than his Maia with her limitless powers of identification and absorption. With the abun-

dance of epigraphical material from Ostia it is strange that so prominent a goddess should not be mentioned in the inscriptions. On this point and on many another some satisfaction might be gained by an excavation of the site designated on CARCOFINO's plan as *Atria Tiberina*.

L. R. TAYLOR.

VASSAR COLLEGE.

Solon the Athenian. By IVAN M. LINFORTH. University of California Press: Berkeley, 1919. 318 pp. \$3.00.

This is a very readable account of all that has been gleaned or guessed about the great lawgiver of the Athenians. The work falls into two distinct parts, a biography of Solon and an edition of the fragments of his poems.

In the first part a sceptical attitude has been deliberately adopted, "alike toward ancient legend and modern hypothesis." On p. 16 there is a brief lapse from this very prudent position, in a mention of Plutarch's biography of Solon. Here it is stated that "modern investigation has shown that his principal sources, outside of Solon's own poems, were the learned writers Didymus and Hermippus (see Busolt, 1895, p. 85)." This is a surprisingly positive statement—somewhat more positive than the authority cited will warrant. But in the next paragraph Dr. LINFORTH resumes his strictly judicial attitude, and tones down the whole statement to a "probably."

The fragments of Solon's poems are really studied twice: first, as so many historical documents, and again "with the wider appreciation and criticism which are the due of poetry." They are handsomely printed in a carefully revised text, with a good prose translation and an extensive commentary. In the long elegiac poem preserved by Stobaeus two new conjectures are admitted: line 11, *μαίωνται* for *τιμῶσιν*, and line 34, *ἐνταίῳ* for the meaningless *ἐς δῆλην*.

W. P. MUSTARD.

BRIEF MENTION.

Some time ago reading the life and letters of a divine, celebrated in his day both for his scholarship and eloquence, I came across the following entry, which naturally arrested my attention: "Gildersleeve was glad to meet somebody interested in grammar, and sat late, very full of talk." "Very full of talk" is a homely phrase and might seem to hold a covert sneer; but Dr. Broadus was fond of homely phrases, and in any case I do not resent the impeachment. 'Tis nothing more than Chaucer's "Gladly wolde he teche," and the apostolic injunction, "To do good and to communicate forget not," might well serve as a motto for all teachers. A recent writer has called self-expression a mania of the times; self-expression and self-impression go back to the protoplast, Adam, and to the mother of all living, Eve. More than a decade after Dr. Broadus made that comment on the youthful professor of nearly sixty years syne, I opened my essay on Grammar and Aesthetics with a frank confession, which I take the liberty of reproducing from an out-of-print and out-of-date volume:

"Minute specialization is one of the prominent features of modern science. It is not peculiar to modern culture, for subdivision of the professions is as old as the Pyramids. In the Athens of the best times there were those who made their living by the manufacture of hair-nets. An epigram of Martial informs us that there were surgeons in Rome who limited their practice to the effacement of the scars that disfigured the persons of branded slaves. But the narrowness of a handicraft is different from the narrowness of an intellectual pursuit, or rather an intellectual pursuit is reduced by this narrowness to a handicraft; and in this second half of the nineteenth century the joyous and adventurous swing of the human mind through the range of knowledge and science which marked the first half has been quieted down to a sober pace, not to say a treadmill gait. The line along which the earlier investigators flamed is now traversed by the solitary track-walker, who turns his lantern on every inch of the ground, and travel is often interdicted on account of the insecurity of the road. So much the better for those who are to come after us, but meanwhile life is lonely for the explorer. For times come to every such man when he feels an imperious necessity of justifying himself to them that are without, of seeking a larger audience than the narrow circle of his disciples and associates. True, the utter failure to come to an understanding with the rest of the world often sends the student back to his special work with a determination never again to attempt any communication with his fellows except on the most ordinary topics of social converse, and to lead his intellectual life alone."

In this outgiving I was not generalizing from my own experience, for I have encountered more than one specialist who could not suppress the desire to let the outside world know what the

inward fire was that warmed his soul. A signal example among my acquaintances was Prof. Sylvester who was a colleague of mine for seven years at the J. H. U. I cannot say that he honoured me with his friendship. Even his acquaintance was a somewhat perilous privilege. So explosive was he that I consider it the greatest achievement of my social life that I managed to cross the ocean with him as my room-mate with not even an approach to personal difficulty. In the course of those seven years we were often thrown together officially and socially, and I often had occasion to admire the manifestations of his large and luminous intellect. No matter what subject came up, he turned upon it, as it were, a bull's-eye lantern, which lighted it up, not without some danger, however, lest there be fire as well as light. His line of mathematics was far above my mental reach, but for all that he would try to make me apprehend, not comprehend, the character of his achievements, and, being a man of vivid imagination, he would often resort to metaphor and simile for my enlightenment. His face was as expressive as his head was impressive, and I can picture his countenance all aglow with rapture at his discoveries, which always seemed to come to him as revelations. There is no real egotism in the enthusiasm of men of genius over their own success. As Goethe says, "Alles ist als wie geschenkt." One day he said to me, in regard to his most recent achievement: "I looked up and saw a huge bird, perhaps the fabulous roc; it laid one crystal egg, then another, and yet a third; I gazed intently, gazed long; there was not a fourth, never will be a fourth." Again he said: "There is a group of malefactors. Other mathematicians have been able to tell the number constituting the group. I have laid my hand on the culprit and told him, 'Thou art the man.'" I am myself not averse to tropical language, and I sometimes took refuge in it when he pressed me with questions. But the answer I can recall was one which I made when he expressed his surprise that American mathematicians had shewn such a proclivity to problems of four-dimensional geometry. "We Americans," I said, "being a crude and primitive people are much given to practical jokes of the Howleglas order, and four-dimensional geometry seems to me a somewhat practical joke on space." Of course this use of tropical language is a snare, especially if one mistakes an illustration for an argument, a mistake often made by those who occupy high seats in the synagogue of thinkers, who indeed are better called tinkers. I knew intimately one old professor, whose textbook was Butler's Analogy. I have nothing to say against Butler's Analogy, into which I have not looked for seventy years, but this expounder and admirer of Butler used to manufacture similes and argue from them. He told me that he did not learn to make similes until he was turned of fifty; after that he poured them out by

the score, apparently with the same ease that I now (1920) fabricate sonnets. He reminded me of those sophists of the second century, like Marcus Aurelius and Fronto, who exchanged similes, as the French sophists of a later day exchanged caractères. "Arguing from analogy," I said to him, "seems to me like arguing from a parallel line that you can reach to a parallel line that you cannot reach." "A capital illustration," he said incautiously. "But," I remarked, "one must first prove that the lines are parallel." Then ensued a thoughtful silence. A trivial anecdote, doubtless, and almost incredible to those who knew the party of the other part—a man noted for his penetrative intellect and dreaded for his caustic wit. But old birds are often caught by chaff if the chaff somewhat simulates the favourite grain.

Great are the uses of figurative language as well as the abuses. Reputations have been made by the simple process of extracting from a word the bottle imp that has been put in it at the beginning. I have recently read of one retired statesman whose favourite reading is said to be Skeat's Etymological Dictionary, which he scans in order to preserve and acquire exactness of phraseology. As all language is full of metaphors, he who watches his composition from that point of view will be comforted by an array of figures that jostle and swear at each other in a long procession. As in life, it is the part of wisdom to take things at their face value, and one of the most charming of languages is one that least reveals its secrets. The great masters of English style were not etymologists, and one would look in vain among great etymologists for exemplars of English style. The Elizabethan divined the artistic force of the words as the Greek sculptors divined the muscles under the skin. It is somewhat disillusioning to learn that Swinburne carried about with him a rhyming dictionary, and doubtless many modern stylists have found Roget's Thesaurus a help in the choice of epithets. Indeed, the Germans have prepared a dictionary of their own language after the same pattern, and confessedly so, but I very much question whether March's more elaborate book has ever been made the man of counsel by those who handle our speech best. Over-consciousness is fatal to the best work, and the substitution of Anglo-Saxon equivalents for words of Latin or French origin in our vocabulary has not been encouraged by the experiments of those who are Anglo-Saxon mad. 'Forecast' is an improvement on 'prognostication,' but 'foreword' is not an unqualified gain. The opaque gods¹ are, after all, the great gods, and the quality of mercy is not to be strained through an etymological sieve.

¹ A. J. P. 17. 363.

In my boyhood, I was an enthusiastic admirer of Shelley. Above all other poems my favourite was "The Cloud." I not only committed it to memory, but actually tried to translate it into Latin in the metre of *solvitur acris hiems*. In the flagrant times of the Civil War, I prepared a parody of the whole poem, in which I set forth the great duel between Lee and Grant. Parody is not necessarily criticism; in this case at least it represented devotion. The following stanza I never tired of repeating:

For after the rain, when, with never a stain,
The pavilion of Heaven is bare,
And the winds and sunbeams with their convex gleams
Build up the blue dome of air,
I silently laugh at my own cenotaph,
And out of the caverns of rain,
Like a child from the womb, like a ghost from the tomb,
I arise and unbuild it again.

Shelley has put a deeper meaning into Horace's *obscuro deterget nubila caelo saepe Notus*, and I have often given the image a practical application to my own fancies—or what other people call fancies—in the way of interpretation. Wilamowitz has compared all the exegesis of Pindar down to his own day to mere clouds and thanks God that they have been swept away,—swept away, presumably, by the homely broom of German Pindarists. Shelley's winds are represented by the counterblasts of Teutonic criticism and his sunbeams by Wilamowitz himself, shining, like the sun, *ἐρήμας δὲ αἰθέρος*. The same fate may overtake my recent study of the homologies of sonnet and epigram, but I shall doubtless 'laugh at my own cenotaph' and proceed to furnish illustrations of my own theory, as I have done in the following transfusion of Callimachus' Heraclitus epigram:

They told me, Heraclitus, thou wast dead.
Death is the common lot—too well we know—
Of every thing that lives and moves below
The brazen heavens. And yet, what tears I shed
When I remembered how the hours sped!
Unheeded they would come, unheeded go,
While our discourse kept up its happy flow
Until the sun sank to his ocean bed.
Son of the Sea-horn, Halicarnassian friend,
Long since, long since, thou hast returned to dust;
Thy play is over, and thy work is done;
The angel Azrael, who puts an end
To mortal men, thy tuneful voice hath hushed—
And yet, thy Nightingales live on, sing on.

Of course this is not a translation, but maceration; and I hear from the farther shore the protest of my indulgent critic William Hayes Ward, of the Independent, against my treatment of the famous *Πῶς γερόμην* epigram.²

B. L. G.

² A. J. P. 12. 111.

BERNADOTTE PERRIN

1847-1920

Mr. Perrin's life covered a period of many changes. In 1869, when he graduated from Yale, the ideals of classical scholarship were just beginning to outgrow the traditions which limited it to a rigid grammatical drill and a very simple interpretation, itself largely grammatical. Few are now left among us who can know from their own experience how great has been the change from that time to this present philological world, divided into a dozen fields, equipped with new tools and methods, expanded in purpose and ideals. It is the most significant fact in Mr. Perrin's scholarly career that he did what many of his contemporaries failed to do, that he shook off narrowing traditions and made himself at home, intellectually, as he was socially, in a new world.

The first indication of his foresight was his taking three years of graduate study at Yale, when such study was still unusual, and he supplemented this, a few years later, by two years of work in Germany. As was then the custom, he edited some textbooks (Caesar's *Civil War* and parts of the *Odyssey*), but his contributions to scholarship began in 1884, with a series of a dozen papers, written while he was at Western Reserve and afterward at Yale, which, put together, would make a considerable volume. Of the value of these only an expert in Greek history could speak; to the layman they appear to be successful applications of the methods of source-criticism to the solution of debated problems. They are written in the easy and finished style of which Mr. Perrin was a master and which was characteristic of him even in conversation.

The translation of Plutarch will be his monument. He published two *Lives* in 1901, with an introduction which it is a pleasure to read and with full historical notes. Two more volumes were issued in 1910 and 1912, and it was doubtless the high merit of this work which led to his selection as translator of Plutarch for the Loeb Series. These eleven volumes Mr. Perrin lived to complete, though his working hours were painfully limited by failing eyesight. It was a labor of love; he found pleasure in accurate scholarship and in the art of translation, and especially in the combination of these to set forth the deeds of Plutarch's Men; for he was always, in a good sense, a hero-worshipper.

He was also a natural orator, with warmth of feeling for

character held in due check by sense of form, and as Public Orator at Yale, presenting candidates for honorary degrees, his performance of his function was remarkable for dignity of bearing and felicity of phrase.

E. P. MORRIS.

THOMAS DWIGHT GOODELL.

1854-1920.

Thomas Dwight Goodell, Lampson Professor of Greek in Yale University, died after a short illness on the seventh of last July. At the age of sixty-five, he had before him the expectation of many productive years, and classical scholarship has lost prematurely one of its most devoted and fruitful representatives. Greek literature was to him, in extraordinary degree, the most vitally real thing in life and there are few phases of it that his painstaking scholarship had not investigated.

Goodell was born in Ellington, Connecticut, November 8, 1854. He graduated from Yale College in 1877. After graduation he spent eleven years teaching in the Hartford High School. On May 9, 1878, he was married to Julia A. Andross, who survives him. He was called to Yale in 1888, made Professor of Greek in 1893, and served in that capacity until his death. He was Professor in residence at the American School in Athens for the year 1894-1895 and in 1912 was President of the American Philological Association.

Such a bare outline of facts merely suggests the varied scholarly activities of Professor Goodell; few men have touched so many phases of Greek life and thought as are to be found treated in his published work. Three scholarly achievements will always overtop the rest, assuring him the lasting respect of the world of scholars: his *Chapters on Greek Metric*, published in 1902; his *Commemorative Greek Ode*, with music by Horatio Parker, sung at the Yale Bi-centennial; and his *Athenian Drama*, now in press. The Greek Ode represents his mastery of metrical technique, quickened by a creative poetic sense. The accurate, almost meticulous scholarship of his Greek Metric never failed him, but in the Athenian Drama it proved to have been in reality the solid foundation of a deep and sympathetic appreciation of the animating spirit of Greek genius.

More than thirty articles, as well as the Grammar of Attic Greek in the Twentieth Century text-book series (1901), bear testimony to Goodell's unflagging pursuit of truth and his burning enthusiasm for his subject. He was the author of some

exquisite sonnets and wrote more than one article on English versification; syntax, semantics, and metric occupied much of his teaching time and his work in these fields bore fruit in the form of numerous papers. But the Drama and Plato were the objects of his most ardent devotion. In these centered his favorite courses and it is here that he made his greatest contribution to classical scholarship.

Goodell has left a record of varied scholarly achievements accomplished through years of unremitting toil. He will stand in classical annals as the exponent of unsparing accuracy in scholarship and as the untiring champion of classical culture against the invasion of utilitarian education.

C. W. MENDELL.

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